CONCEPT OF CHIVALRY (*FUTUWWAH*) ACCORDING TO ABD AL-RAZZAQ KASHANI: ANALYSIS ON HIS TUHFAH AL-IKHWAN FI KHASAIS AL-FITYAN

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THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO FULFILL THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this topic of study is to examine the esoteric meaning of chivalry (futuwwah) by Kāshānī, based on the grounds of the School of Wahdah al-Wujūd, and to describe the theoretical classification of moral specification of chivalry. This study will open up a relatively unexplored aspect of chivalry, that reflects the concept of the mediocre imperfect human being, the lower level of the perfect human as identified by Sufis. The library research, collecting and analyzing data primary and secondary sources, makes it possible to draw a clear image of Kāshānī's School of thought. Indeed, the combined historical and religious approach of chivalry clarifies improvement of the primary concept of chivalry within Qur'anic teaching, and its appearance as the ethical code in different dimensions of a Muslim's life such as public, politics and economy. A comparative study of chivalry letters from the twelfth to sixteenth century depicts continued development of the concept of chivalry within Sufism. It reveals the concept of chivalry has improved from its primordial concept as forgiveness into the spiritual school of thought, with theoretical and practical dimensions attached to the individual and social life of humans. And, it is finally integrated to the spiritual stage of Sufism as benefaction. The theoretical dimension of chivalry is developed on the grounds of School of Wahdah al-Wujūd by Kāshānī, which presents the integration of the concept of chivalry with unity, love and justice. Chivalry is identified as the stage of appearance of the knowledge of Unity (tawhīd), which implies the knowledge of self awareness, through which man perceives his true nature, his dignity and potentialities. The analytical perspective of chivalry portrays a figure of human being in terms of a human being, whose

journey of life begins with returning to his real being, to a greater degree of actualizing his potentialities bestowed to him by God. It is a continuous challenge of a human being, with all his imperfections and faults, to express God's love to His creation in order to satisfy Him and bring happiness in human life.

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk meneliti makna esoterik istilah "chivalry" (futuwwah) oleh Kāshānī yang berasaskan pemikiran Wahdah al-Wujūd dan untuk memperincikan teori berkaitan moral yang dikhususkan berkenaannya. Kajian ini akan meneroka aspek chivalry yang mencerminkan konsep manusia yang tidak sempurna, iaitu tahap terendah dalam konsep insan kamil sebagaimana yang telah dikenalpasti oleh para sufi. Kajian perpustakaan yang mengumpulkan dan menganalisis sumber data primer dan sekunder ini membolehkan pemikiran Kashani dilakar dengan jelas. Malah, penggabungan pendekatan sejarah dan keagamaan berkenaan chivalry menjelaskan lebih lanjut konsep utama chivalry ini dalam kerangka pengajaran al-Qur'an dan penampilannya sebagai kod etika dalam dimensi kehidupan seorang Muslim yang berbeza seperti komuniti, politik dan ekonomi. Kajian perbandingan yang dibuat mengenai konsep chivalry sejak dari abad keenam hingga kesepuluh Hijrah, telah memperlihatkan kesinambungan evolusi konsepnya dalam bidang tasawuf. Ia mendedahkan bahawa perkembangan konsep chivalry telah bertambah baik berbanding konsep asalnya yang berteraskan "kemaafan" semata kepada pemikiran kerohanian, meliputi aspek teori dan praktis dalam kehidupan individu dan masyarakat. Dan ia akhirnya bersepadu membentuk "peringkat kerohanian" dalam tasawuf yang memberi faedah yang baik. Aspek teori chivalry, kemudiannya berkembang dalam pemikiran Kāshānī berasaskan pemikiran Wahdah al-Wujūd yang menonjolkan pengintegrasian dengan ketauhidan, kasih sayang dan keadilan. Chivalry

telah dikenal pasti sebagai satu peringkat kemunculan pengetahuan tentang tauhid yang menonjolkan pengetahuan berkenaan kesedaran diri yang melaluinya maka manusia memahami sifat semulajadinya yang sebenar, maruah serta potensi dirinya. Analisis yang digarapkan menggambarkan *chivalry* manusia sebagai manusia dalam ertikata yang sebenarnya yang memulakan perjalanan hidupnya untuk kembali kepada Tuhan yang Haqq (*real being*), yang juga mengaktualisasikan potensinya yang dianugerahkan oleh Tuhan kepadanya dengan lebih hebat. Ia merupakan cabaran yang berterusan dihadapi oleh manusia yang memiliki ketidaksempurnaan dan sering melakukan kesalahan, dimana Tuhan telah menunjukkan kasih sayangNya terhadap penciptaanNya dengan tujuan untuk mendapat keredaanNya dan mendatangkan kebahagiaan di dalam hidupnya.

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TRANSLITERATION

This thesis had been used the generally American accepted transcription system.

Arab	Roman	
ا ء	a, '	
Ļ	В	
ت	Т	
ث	Th	
ج	J	
۲	ķ	
Ċ	Kh	
د	D	
ذ	Dh	
ر	R	

Arab	Roman
ز	Z
س	S
ش	Sh
ص	Ş
ض	þ
ط	ţ
ظ	Z,
٤	٢
ż	Gh
ف	F

Arab	Roman
ق	Q
ک	K
ل	L
م	М
ن	Ν
٥	Н
و	W
ى	Y
ö	h

The Additional Persian Letters:

Persian	Roman
ژ.	Zh
Ś	Ch
Ļ	Р
گ	G

The Short Vowels and Diphthongs

Arabic	Roman
Ĩ	Ā
ای	Ī
او	Ū
اَو°	Aw
أىْ	Ау
ۅۜ	Uww
ىّ	iy-ī

ABBREVIATION

An abbreviation is provided for the words that frequently cited in the text:

Chivalry letter	CL
Spiritueal chivalry letter	SCL
Guild Chivalry letters	GCL
Arabic Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān	ATIKF
Persian Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān	PTIKF

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This research is based on an attempt to study the chivalry (*futuwwah*) according to Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī (d. 730 /1330), on the basis of his treatise, *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*.

Kāshānī is one of the most influential Sufi authors of later Islamic history. He wrote disseminated commentaries and important treatises, both in Arabic and Persian, which are rooted in Ibn al-'Arabi's ontological discourse. His works made him one of the great exponents and promoters of the School of Wahdah al-Wujūd after Sadr al-Dīn Qūnawī and he advocates the intellectual discipline and School of Ibn 'Arabī. His simple, scholarly manner is used to explain and classify Ibn 'Arabī's teaching. His remarkable esoteric interpretation, Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, has been published in Ibn al-'Arabī's name (Beirut, 1968); although compatible with Ibn al-'Arabī's basic world view, there are important differences of perspective that mark Kāshānī as an independent thinker.¹ His commentary on Fusūs al-Hikam, in which he discusses the matter of Wahdah al-Wujūd, promoted Ibn 'Arabī's teaching into the Persian speaking world. Another feature of Kāshānī is his efforts for strengthening the principle of School Wahdah al-Wujūd through its approximation with Sharī'ah and Qur'ān. The correspondence between him and 'Aalā' al-Dawlah Simnānī is evidence of his attempt to prove the coincidence of Wahdah al-Wujūd with the Qur'ān.

 $Tuhfah al-Ikhwān F\bar{i}$ Khaṣāis al-Fityān is an ethical treatise known as chivalry letter (*Risālah al-Futuwwah*) written by Kāshānī both in Arabic and Persian. It is a short complete journey in order to find the deep meaning of youthfulness in chivalry. It is a theoretical discussion about deep meaning of

¹ Mandal, B.N. (2009), *Global Vision Encyclopedia of Islamic Mystics and Mysticism*, New Delhi, Global vision Publishing House, Vol. 1, p. 119.

inner aspects of chivalry, and consists of traveling a path and traversing its stations to attain the level of subsistence-through-God. And, the outward aspect consists of the tradition of chivalry which constitutes the development of the attributes of perfect humans.

1.1 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Kāshānī appears in the time, when two kinds of Sufism were completed. According to Schimmel's classification, first, the voluntary mysticism, based on personal taste and, second, the systematic mysticism, based on methodical mystic.² On one hand, it was told in detail about the mystic demeanor and their rules by great Sufis such as, Bāyazīd Bastāmī (d. 261/875), Abū Ṭālib Makkī (d. 386/996), Abū Sa'īd Abī al-Khayr (d. 440/1048) and Abū al-Qāsim Qushayrī (d. 465/ 1072). On the other hand, the ultimate of fine and delicate Sufi's fiction was overcome by Sufis such a Manşūr Hallāj (d. 298/910), Abū Ḥāmid Ghazālī (d. 505/ 1111), Muḥyiddīn Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) and Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 673/1274). However, Kāshānī is the central core of these two main class of Sufism, but there is not a comprehensive work about his thought and spiritual manner.

Kāshānī's treatise on *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khāṣāiṣ al-Fityān*, like his other treatises, has received less scholarly attention, while it presents chivalry as a spiritual school with initiation rituals and codes, which was distributed among Muslims more than other schools after Sufism.

In the Islamic world, chivalry is known as a quality with a combination of three essentially qualities: Courage $(al-Shuj\bar{a} \, ah)$, generosity $(al-Sakh\bar{a} \, ah)$ and

² Schimmel, Annemarie (2011), *The Mystical Dimension of Islam*, 35th Anniversary Edition, The University of North Carolina Press, p. 15-23.

forgiveness.³ Chivalry practically manifested as a social movement in order to protect poor and weak people and to consider altruism and justice. Therefore, by most Muslims scholars and modern western Orientalists, it is regarded as the social movement with special culture and aims to benefit humans through emanation of different forms as aristocratic chivalry, as well as institutionalize professional guilds and crafts.⁴ However, the integration of chivalry with Sufism credited chivalry to be recognized as the younger brother of Sufism, through which a certain station of the path of spirituality could be attained for all class of people.⁵

The production of a number of chivalry letters during the twelfth until sixteenth century by Sufi writers shows that chivalry was followed among people, but no longer in its early form. The surviving of chivalry and the transformation from its primeval institution to a spiritual school is still a question, which needs more consideration.

Kāshānī's treatise is good evidence that tells us trade guilds and aristocratic chivalry in Islam is not the only forms of Islamic chivalry. In this regard, the question arises what kind of relation is between chivalry and ethics? Furthermore, how Kāshānī defined chivalry on the grounds of Sufism and what distinguished his definition from other Sufis? If chivalry is considered as a spiritual stage, what level does it placed among the way of perfection? And, what

³ Böwering, Gerhard & Crone, Patricia & Kadi, Vadad & Mirza, Mahan & Qasim Zaman, Muhammad & stewart, Devin J. (2010), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton University Press, p. 93.

⁴ Zakeri, Mohsen (1995), *Sasanid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society-The Origin of 'Ayyaran and Futuwwa*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, p. 306 and Meri, Josef W. (2004), *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, New York, Routledge, Vol. 1, p. 153.

⁵ Ridgeon, Lloyd (2010), Moral and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A history of Sufi Futuwwat in Iran, UK, Routledge, p. 8; Kāshānī, Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān, in the collection of Hādī Zādeh, Majīd (2001) Majmū'ah Rasā'il Wa Muṣannafāt 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, Tehran, Mirāth Maktūb, 2th ed. p. 558 and Kāshifī Sabzewārī (2001), Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulṭānī, Studied by Muhammad Jafar Mahjūb, Tehran, Bunyād Farhang Iran, p. 130.

are the main principles of chivalry and how are they classified by Kāshānī? What is classification of moral specification in this school? What kind of relation is between the spiritual stage of chivalry and region of moral, according to Kāshānī? Thus, this research is intended to illustrate all above points.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There are some questions aried according to this research as follow:

- 1. What is the important point of Kāshānī and his chivalry letter?
- 2. How can we explain the development of the concept of chivalry within the Islamic history?
- 3. How can we explain the conceptual development of chivalry within Sufi's texts?
- 4. How Kāshānī defined chivalry on the grounds of School of Wahdah al-Wujūd?
- 5. What is difference of Kāshānī's definition with other definitions?
- 6. If chivalry is considered as a spiritual stage, what level does it placed in the path of perfection?
- 7. What are the main principles of chivalry and how are they classified by Kāshānī?
- 8. What is classification of moral specification by Kāshānī?
- 9. What similarities and differences are between definitions of chivalry by Kāshānī with other definition?
- 10. What kind of relation is between chivalry and ethics?

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Based on the above questions, this thesis will investigate the following points:

- 1. To identify Kāshānī, his life and his contribution to Sufism.
- To illustrate the growth and development of chivalry within Islamic teaching by Sufis.
- 3. To translate Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khasāis al-Fityān
- 4. To analyze the conception of chivalry according to Kāshānī, and to interpret the foundation of spiritual chivalry, according to *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

Chivalry letters are learned works written by great Sufis which build up an extraordinary, rich knowledge of human behavior in dealing with others. Among them, Kāshānī's treatise *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān* is a brief deliberation of the origin of chivalry and explanation of the path of this spiritual stage. This research presents how chivalry has traversed a significant meaningful path of development. This development was becoming fulfilled in the grounds of Sufism on the basis of Qur'ān and *Sunnah* and under the hidden influence of different culture as a part of Islamic tradition. According to early definition, chivalry is identified as a moral quality and as actions of virtue and a manner of ethic. Thus, chivalry letters are inextricably integrated with ethic. Especially, chivalry of Kāshānī provides a profound perspective to reviewing and rebuilding the foundation of social relationship. The significance of his work is the creation of the integral spiritual and philosophical approach which is capable of shedding light on an individual. Also significant is the social relationship of humans in

order to help people to succeed in the purpose of their creation in the world, if not in terms of perfection which is the ultimate goal of Sufism, but at least in the meaning of humanity.

Studying chivalry letters can create new structure when addressing values that are parts of Islamic social ethos. Moreover, it provides a wide perspective to revive and unite ethical construction in global social life not only in Muslim context, but also in non-Muslim context. In addition, it can capture the spirit that animated the social relationship in Sufis teaching. Furthermore, in the time of modern era, when people are aware of the importance of the social behavior and civilized people observe the law of citizenship, for Muslims, there could be no better source than chivalry letters to develop the social relationship alongside the ethical worldview.

1.5 THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH

This study focuses on the Kāshānī's impact on Persian Sufism, his influences further than this era is not the matter of this research. Despite the fact that Kāshānī was a disciple of the School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, he also influenced by the Schools of Illumination of Suhrawardī (d.587/1191). In this regard, his thought is compared to Suhrawardī. Moreover, as the central issues discussed in chivalry letters are ethic and moral on one hand, and on the other hand as the major source of ethical thought and moral implication in an methodical way is drawn by al-Ghazālī,⁶ this study tried to compare chivalry letter of Kāshānī to *Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn* and *Mīzān al-'Amal*, in order to present similarities of

⁶ Fakhri, Majid (1994), *Ethical Theories in Islam*, Leiden, Brill, p. 8.

definition of virtues and narratives. The similarities are given in the footnote of translation the chivalry letter in chapter five.

Another central point is due to historical approach of chivalry. As chivalry is found particularly in Southwest Asia, in the countries where their former culture was in old Babylon and old Iran,⁷ the discussion regarding the process of historical growth and development of chivalry is, therefore, centralized to the chivalry in Anatolia and Persia during the Sasanid and Ottoman Empire.

1.6 LITERTURE REVIEW

During the following decades, several theories about the chivalry and its origin were brought forth. Each of them touched upon a different configuration; since, despite acceptance of its general meaning as a human quality, its appearance is so wide and changeable that describing it is very difficult task. Therefore, it is advisable to distinguish between two main approaches, which have been classified as historical chivalry and spiritual chivalry. Historical chivalry contains all territory of historical document and evidence before and after Islam that touches chivalry in its origin, tradition and rituals; while by spiritual chivalry, it means chivalry in the Sufi's text.

The identification of historical chivalry in Islamic lands, for the first time, has been done by the Austrian Orientalist, Joseph von Hammer (1774-1856)⁸. He identified and generalized chivalry as Islamic phenomenon that has preceded the Occidental knighthood.⁹ His student, Gerard Salinger, in contrast, in his article

⁷ Old Iran is Persia; the historical documents related to chivalry found in Persia belong to the territories, which had one belonged to the Sasanian Empire before Islam that includes Iraq and Syria. See: Täschner (1979), *Texte zur Geschichte der Futuwwa*, München, Artemis Verlag, p.14.

⁸ Von Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph (1855) ,"Sur les passages relatifs à la chevalerie dans les historiens arabes." *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 2, pp. 282-290.

⁹ Zakeri, Sasanid Soldiers, p. 2.

"Was the *futuwwah* an oriental form of chivalry?",¹⁰ argued that there are basic differences between the western knights of Middle age and Islamic chivalrous, and there is not eastern equivalents of the chivalry of Christendom. Thus, he treated any description of Islamic chivalry as knighthood for wrong.¹¹

However, the concept of chivalry has developed after Islam and has been enriched by the boundless ocean of Qur'ānic teaching in which the youth after fighting with his ego, come to the service of society only for the satisfaction of God. The different between historical and spiritual chivalry is the enquiry of spiritual chivalry to qualify himself with the quality of God and follow the prophet's tradition. This kind of chivalry can be seen as a practical life course.

Sufis tried to depict the structure of a sociability behavior and interpret the manner of youth by religious elements. Therefore, they wrote chivalry letters based on theosophical system with interpretation every action of youth. That is why we cannot find any sign of historical personality of chivalrous in Sufi's chivalry letter.

However, in the Islamic world, the ritual of historical chivalry is intermingled with the spiritual chivalry. Therefore, this closeness led some investigation on chivalry in the former *Sasanid*¹² capital of *Ctesiphon*, absorbed the pre-existing principles of chivalry.¹³ Of prime importance here, is the study of the French Islamic specialist, Louis Massignon (1883-1963). Although, his investigation is relying on the oral traditions, there is no doubt that certain Iranian

¹⁰ Salinger, Gerald (1950), "Was *Futuwwa* an oriental form of chivalry?" *Proceeding of American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 94. No.5, p. 481-93. (www. Jstor.org/stable/1578830)

¹¹ Togoslu, Erkan (2008), "Hizmat, From Futuwa Tradition to the Emergence of the Movement in Public Space", (*www.fethullahgulen.org* > ... > *Gülen Conference in Washington*, *DC*)

¹² The last pre-Islamic Persian Empire (224-651 BCE)

¹³ Massignon, Louis (1952), "La Futuwwa a ou pacte d'honneur artisanal entre les travailleurs musulmans au Moyen Age" in: La Nouvelle Clio 4, p.401, as cited by Zakeri, *Sasanid Soliders*, p. 306.

elements have survived through the ages beneath chivalry's surface, as it is emphasized by Massignon. A similar viewpoint is advocated by the Iranian scholar, Mohsen Zākerī, who in 1995 presented his new survey under the title *Sasanid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society - The Origin of 'Ayyaran and Futuwwa*. He sought several prominent of the economic structure of the late Sasanid society and the traced the continuity of change of these features into early Muslim society. He discussed how the interaction of early follower of chivalry in Sasanid society with Muslim conquerors coined the Arab chivalry.¹⁴

On the other hand, the distinction between these two zones of chivalry is, clearly, visible in Suhrawardī's chivalry letter, who classified it as sword (sayfi) and saying (qawli) chivalry.

The sword chivalry is to fight with the pagan for God and to bring victory for Muslims, while at the same time to fights with the lust and desires of self.¹⁵The saying chivalry is being faithful to the oath to God, according to the revelation:

وَ إِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِ هِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَ أَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَى شَهِدْنا أَنْ تَقُولُوا بَوْمَ الْقِيامَةِ إِنَّا كُنَّا عَنْ هذا غافِلِينَ

Al-Arāf 7:172

When thy Lord drew forth from the Children of Adam-from their loins- their descendant, and made them testify concerning themselves, (saying): "Am I not your Lord (who cherishes and sustains you)?" they said: Yes! We do testify!" (This), lest ye should on the Day of Judgment: "Of this we were never mindful.

Later, a third group is added to chivalry letter of Zarkūb as drinking (*shurbī*) chivalry that refers to the Prophetic tradition of his homage, with his

¹⁴ Zakeri, Sasanic Soliders, p. 57-69.

¹⁵ Zarrinkūb, 'Abd al-Husayn (2000), Justejū Dar Tasawwuf Iran, Tehran, Amīr Kabīr, p. 82.

companion and the people of Mecca. According to his order, they drank milk with a bit salt in order to keep their oath.¹⁶

These classifications are clarified by the most comprehensive studies about the chivalry base of translation of some chivalry letters by doyen of chivalry Franz Täschner. He separated the development of chivalry thought from its social progress. These two elements became connected in the period of Abbasid Caliph Al-Nāşīr lī Dīn Allāh (577/1181– 620/1233) and never separated from each other. According to him, chivalry was originated outside the realm of religion proper and later adapted itself to Sufism.¹⁷Thus, he viewed chivalry as having developed the notion in the context of Sufism, while its earlier form as having enjoyed the support of the Persian aristocracy and lesser kings, centuries before al-Nāşīr.¹⁸

Most of the modern European Orientalists are prone to regard chivalry phenomena as purely or pre-eminently social ones. They, therefore, usually associate chivalry with a certain social phenomenon; since, its institutional form appeared during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph Nāsīr. One valuable work in this field belongs to Claude Cahen (1909-1991), the French Orientalist, who raised important issues about the purpose of Caliph al-Nāşīr to transform chivalry group as aristocratic institution. Cahen treated the role of Caliph more than being a symbolic supreme leader for chivalrous, or to bring stability to an anarchistic decentralized institution and to unit *Sunni, Shī'ah*, Sufi's Muslims, and even non-

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Täschner, Franz (1932), "Futuwwa-Studien: Die Futuwwabünde in der Turkei und ihre Literatur," *Islamica*, Vol. 5, pp. 285-333.

¹⁸ *Idem* (1956), "Futuwwa, ein gemeinschaftsbildende Idee im mittlealterischen Orient und ihre verschiedene Erscheinungs Formen", *Schweizerisches Archive für Volkskunde* 52, pp. 122-58; Zakeri, *Sasanid Soliders*, pp. 3-4.

Muslim minorities.¹⁹According to him, the further understanding of Caliph Nasīr might be sought in the role of one of his advisors, shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. Cahen asserted that the early ideas in reforming chivalry organization were probably not from Caliph, but from Suhrawardī. To him, Suhrawardī was the master-mind of religious, political and social reforms of chivalry. Cahen, like Massignon, described Salmān as "The patron of Irano-Mesopotamian artisans" as essential, so that he was known later as the source of chivalry's genealogy of Nāşīr²⁰. However, the question why such an exalted family tree, created only during the Abbasid Caliph al-Nāşīr, and in spite of their Sunni belief officially highlighted by the popular figures of $Sh\bar{i}$ ah, stayed unsolved.

In addition to the role of community leaders, the urban fraternities proceeded by both Muslim and Christian in thirteenth and fourteenth century Anatolia played an important political and social function. Despite that these associations have been addressed in scholarship, the comprehensive study belongs to Rachel Goshgarian (2007).²¹His survey presented what function these associations performed, how they were organized, and how their relationship with cities and with various contemporary religious and political authorities was established.

Moreover, during the Abbasid Caliph, a variety of chivalry letters were written by different crafts and artisans, where their activities experienced their peaks. They developed different methods and practice attributed to the specific

¹⁹ Cahen, Claude (1951), "Note sur les debuts de la Futuwwa d'n-Nasir", Orien 6, p. 20- 21), as cited by Qamar, al-Huda (2003), Striving for Divine Union, Spiritual Exercises for Suhrewardi Sufis, London, Routledge Curzon, p. 29-30. ²⁰ Cahen (1960), "Futuwwa," in: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, Leiden, Brill, p.964.
 ²¹ Rachel Coshgarian (2007) - P

Rachel Goshgarian (2007), Beyond the Social and Spiritual: Redefining the Urban Confraternities of Late Medieval Anatolia, Ph.D Dissertation, Harvard University.

craft. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the works of Iranian scholar, Mihrān Afshārī, who edited and published a number of these letters, like chivalry letters of backers, felting, burlap weave, scale, Butcher, slaughterer, Bath keeper and Barber.²²His latest work is published in 2012 and presents another thirty manuscripts of these letters.²³ They are valuable sources and symbols of images, which opens the door for further investigation about chivalry among crafts and artisans in different fields such as sociological formation, literature and arts.

A parallel study on the basis of Sufi's writing has been, recently, done by Lioyd Ridgon in his book, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwa* (2010) *in Iran.*²⁴ He studied the social dimension of chivalry in the ground of Sufism, which promoted certain standards or regulations for communal living. In this regard, he presented the pattern of chivalry on the basis of the Persian Sufi Kharaqānī (d. 425/1034), whose spiritual manner and path of reach the reality was summarized to service people.²⁵However, he tried to depict the connection between chivalry, spirituality, bazaars and various trades therein, but in the pattern chivalry provided by him, it was difficult to distinguish between the borders of chivalry and spirituality.

However, the relation of chivalry with Sufism does not limit to its social appearance, but also identified as a set of virtues manifested in the character of the Prophet (p.b.u.h) and his companion. In this regard, Abd al-Azīz Muhammad, in his book *Al-Futuwwah Fi Mafhūm al-Islāmiyyah: Dirāsah Fi al-Akhlāq al-Islāmiyyah*, discussed the relation of chivalry with Sufism and came to the idea

²² Afshārī, Mihrān (2003), *Futuwwat Nāmeh-Ha Wa Rasā'il Khāksāriyyah*, Tehran, Pajūheshgāh 'Ulūm Insānī Wa Muṭāli'āt Farhangī and *idem* (2005), *Chāhārdah Risālah Dar Bābe Futuwwat Wa Aṣnāf*, Tehran, Nashr-e Chishmeh.

²³ Afshrī, Mihrān (2011), *Si Risāleh Digar*, Tehran, Nashr-e Chishmeh.

²⁴ Ridgon, Liyod V.J. (2010), Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futūwwa in Iran, New York, N.Y., Routledge.

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 50-53.

that the concept of chivalry in Sufism has crossed the limit of honor and generosity and is defined as a kind of sacrificing.²⁶ In fact, after Islam, that part of religious rules and intellectual principles related to the life of people in the community during the centuries, has been relieved and shaped in the form of moral rules that the believer committed himself to follow in order to satisfy God. This kind of chivalry is distinguishing itself from the historical chivalry.

Yet, the notion of chivalry has gone beyond the code of ethic and has come in connection with the fine, deep meaning of spirituality. This semantic evolution that remains far from the scholarly sight, began through the creation of theory of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd* by Ibn 'Arabī and preserved and continued by his disciples. This chivalry, except for some primary characters like generosity, patience and hospitality, was different from the definition provided by earlier Sufis like Sulamī and al-Ghazalī. Henry Corbin (1903-1987), whose interest was esoteric tradition of Islam, tried through his short speech, to present the esoteric meaning behind superficial conception of chivalry.²⁷He focused on the connection of chivalry with the Divine spiritual testimony. He explained the inborn nature of humanity was determined by the tone of the response to the question, "*Alastu*" of the Qur'ān (7:171), and illuminated the source of eternal youth.²⁸

Moreover, he sought the trace of the ancient religion in chivalry, which was revived in the Suhrawardī wisdom as a cosmic vision of duality between darkness

²⁶ Abd al-Aziz Muhammad (1998), *Al-Futuwwah Fī Mafhūm al-Islāmiyyah: Dirāsah Fī al-Akhlāg al-Islāmiyyah*, Alexandris, Dār al-Wafā' Li al-Tibā'ah wa al-Nashr al-Tawzi', pp. 22-25.

Akhlāq al-Islāmiyyah, Alexandris, Dār al-Wafā' Li al-Ţibā'ah wa al-Nashr al-Tawzi', pp. 22-25. ²⁷ Corbin, Henry (1973), "Youthfulness in Iranian Islam - Part 1 was published in Vol.11. Rhone comments: "Called in at the last minute to replace another speaker, Corbin gave this two-part lecture at the Eranos Conference of 1971. Part II, translated into English by Christine Rhone, available in the Temenos Academy Review, Vol. 12. The French original is "Juvénilité et chevalerie (Javânmardî) en Islam iranien", Eranos-Jahrbuch, XL/1971, Leiden, Brill, pp 311-356. ²⁸ Laude, Patrick (2010), *Pathways to an Inner Islam: Massignon, Corbin, Guénon, and Schuon*, New York, SUNY Press, p. 160. and the legend of light. The chivalrous are the warriors and defenders of the light that evokes implicit meaning of fighting with the contamination of the soul.

In sum up, despite numbers studies of chivalry, which attached chivalry in its origin, history and rituals, there are few surveys about the spiritual chivalry. As noted chivalry was adapted by Sufism and Sufis wrote treatise on chivalry in order to construct chivalry in individual and social form on the basis of religious elements. Although, the main element of concept of chivalry, which is determined by Sufis is stable, but there are defined in different plane of School of Thought. The development of the concept of chivalry within the context of Sufism is the matter of question. Even though, Corbin opened the path of investigation to the inner meaning of chivalry, those inner dimensions reveal many comparable forms and structures that need further investigation.

Therefore, this study will depict how the systematic theoretical chivalry is developed within the School of *Wahdah al-Wujūd* by Kāshānī; in addition, it will depict the progress of the development of the notion of chivalry from twelfth to sixtheen by comparing the chivalry letter of Kāshānī with chivalry letters of Suhrawardī and Wāiz Kāshifī Sabzewārī (d. 910/1504). It will show how chivalry in the ground of School of *Wahdah al-Wujūd* has potentiality to deal to knowledge of reality of human being and his dignity in term of human being.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

Due to the nature of the study, generally, the researcher designates the qualitative methodology appropriate to its significant advantages. One of the advantages of this methodology, here, is more open to the adjusting, regenerating and administering of research ideas as an inquiry process. Aside from this, the researcher provides rich and well-grounded descriptions and explanations as well as unforeseen findings for new theory construction. Below are some major methods that being used in this study. The method of translation is not yet presented here as it will be presented in chapter five together with the translation.

1.7.1 DATA COLLECTION

The research's main means of data collection is library research, for which the following libraries are referred:

- 1. The main and Islamic Library of University of Malaya in Malaysia
- 2. The library of University of Tehran in Iran
- 3. The library of Majlis Shawrā Islamī in Tehran/Iran

In the process of explicating of data, both primary and secondary sources are consulted to gather the relevant information. In chapter two, by collection of data about Kāshānī, the priority is given to primary sources. In chapter three, the priority of data collection is given to the secondary researches, which involves mostly the examination of Persian and Western researcher.

The original description of this treatise is lost; however, there are two copies available in library in Iran. A copy is in the Library of Majlis Shawrā Islamī in Tehran and the second in the *Malik* library in Tehran. In addition to the Arabic

prescription, there is the second CL written in Persian by the same author. Therefore, there are two CL in Arabic and Persian, which are written by the same author and have the same title.

The Persian Prescription is in the collection of 167 different treatises in Arabic and Persian in the library of Tehran University. It is a microfilm of the prescription, which is kept in the *Hamīdiyyah* library in Turkey. There are three publications of this treatise: First, is a cooperative work of Murtidā Şarrāf and Henry Corbin under the title, *Rasā'il Jawānmardān*, published 1973.²⁹Second, is the study of Muhammad Dāmādī, 1991.³⁰ And, the latest one is the study of Majīd Hādī Zādeh, who collected Kāshānī's treatises in a compilation called *Majmū'ah Rasāil Wa Muşannafāt Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī*, and published it in 2002.³¹ Pages 525 through 563 contain the Arabic version. This version is the source of translation for this research; since, it is based on the comparison of the two above publications. In addition, the author gives suggestion in the footnote, if some words are not clear to read or even if he found any faults in writings. It is pertinent to mention that two later publishing contain also the Persian version of this treatise.

²⁹ Corbin, Henry & Ṣarrāf, Murtidā (1973), *Rasā'il Jawānmardān*, Tehran, French Institute of Iranian Scholarly Research.

³⁰ Kāshānī, Abd al-Razzāq (1991), *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*, Studied by Muhammd Dāmādī, Tehran, 'Ilmī Farhangī.

³¹ Hādīzādeh, Majīd (2002), *Majmūʿah Rasāil wa Muṣannafāt Abd al-Razāq Kāshānī*, Tehran, Mirāth-e-Maktūb.

1.7.2 DATA ANALYSIS

In the process of the Kāshānī's life, all historical works and Sufis writings that touched his life, character, thought, and manner are gathered and studied in chapter two. In chapter three, the popular theories about the origin of chivalry are collected and critically studied. Chivalry is discussed in three appearances as semi religious bonds in trades association, martial connotation and within Sufism. It is a combined historical and religious approach, in order to shed light on the growth and development of the chivalry during the Islamic history. It depicts how, as a code of ethical qualities of human, it manifested itself as a religioussocial School.

An analogical Analysis designated in chapter four to examine and evaluate *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān* through comparing to similar treatises written by other Sufis. As Kāshānī wrote this treatise first in Arabic and second in Persian, they are compared in this chapter and the differences are highlighted.

For the annotated translation of *Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān* which presented in Chapter Five, I translated it using Arabic language manuscript into English Language. In order to validate the accurancy of translation, the experts in this area, Associate Professor Dr Wan Suhaimi Wan Abdullah from University of Technology Malaysia and Associate Professor Dr Che Zarrina Sa'ari from University of Malaya had put their efforts in reviewing it.

Chapter six is an internal critical analysis of the concept of chivalry, according to Kāshānī. In this regard, the emphasis has been given to the fundamental principle of chivalry and selected doctrines such as wisdom and justice. A comparative study between Kāshānī and Sufis from twelfth to early sixteenth century, Suhrawardī and Wāiz Kāshifī, is necessary to illuminate the

development of the notion of chivalry. The researcher combines all these methods in this research in order to provide a critical analysis of the concept and annotate translation of the text.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF RESEARCH

In order to accomplish such critical assessing work within the requirement of scientific research, this study is divided to seven chapters including introduction and conclusion. Chapter one is the preliminary chapter that comprises literature review, statement of problem, objectives, methodology and significant of the study. Chapter two involves with Kāshānī's life, works and contribution to Sufism. Chapter three addresses historical background of chivalry as well as its relation to Sufism. Chapter four presents *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān* in its title, publication, translation, style and method of writing, division and partition. Chapter five contains the translation of the treatise into English. Chapter six is a comparative discussion on definition of chivalry and its foundation and doctrine. Chapter seven deals with outcomes of the research and brings up new questions and suggestion for the further studies.

CHAPTER 2

'ABD AL-RAZZĀQ KĀSHĀNĪ:

LIFE, WORKS AND CONTRIBUTION TO SUFISM

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Our knowledge about Kāshānī's life is very little. What we know about him is limited to sporadic information, written by him in some of his treatises, according to demands of text and not with the intention of introducing himself. In addition, there are few historian books from which we can derive information about him. The collection of Kāshānī's Treatises, by Majīd Hādī Zādeh, however, should be mentioned, as it includes information about Kāshānī's life.³²This paper depicts great interest in the preparation of Kāshānī's biography. In addition, it will present his works and his place in Sufism, especially his impact on Persian Sufism.

2.1 THE LIFE OF KĀSHĀNĪ

Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Fadl 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ghanā'im al-Kāshānī (650 /1252 to 736 /1335) was born into a Persian family in Kāshān, located in the province Khurāsān and 240 Kilometer south of Tehran. He, therefore, was sometimes called Qāshī, Qāsānī, Kāshī, which all are the different names of his birth place, Kāshān.³³

The oldest source mentioned to 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī is the summarization of *Majma*' *al-Ādāb* $F\bar{i}$ *Mu'jam al-Alqāb*, by Ibn al-Fūwatī (d.

 ³² Hādī Zādeh, Majid (2000), Majmūʿah Rasāʾil Wa Muşannafāt ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, Tehran, Mirāth Maktūb.
 ³³ Ibn al-Fūwatī Muhammad al Kāzim (1005) kt in (1175) kt in (1175).

³³ Ibn al-Fūwatī, Muhammad, al-Kāzim (1995), *Majma ' al-Ādāb Fī Mu 'jam al-Alqāb*, Tehran, Irshād Islāmī, Vol.4, p. 180, No: 3620; Qayşarī, Dawūd Ibn Mahmūd (1996), *Sharh Fusūs al-Hikam*, Tehran, Elmī Farhangī, p.4 and Mudarris Tabrizī (1995), *Rayhānah al-Adab*, Tehran, Khayyām, p. 34; Lory, Pierre (2004), *Les Commentoires esoteriques du Quran*, Persian translation by Zaynab Pudineh Āqāī, Tehran, Hikmat p. 25.

624/1227), who died sixteen years before Kāshānī.³⁴In addition, we can learn about Kāshānī in the writing of his disciple, Qayşarī Rūmī (d.751/1350)³⁵, whose commentary on *Fusūs al-Ḥikam* is well known. He recognized the name of Kāshānī's fathers as Abū al-Faḍl, with the title of Kamāl al-Dīn, and, therefore, described his master as "Perfection of Nation, Reality and Religion" (*Kamāl al-Millah Wa al-Ḥaq Wa al-Dīn*)³⁶. This title is also confirmed by 'Allāmah Amīn 'Āmilī (d. 1284/1905)³⁷, Muḥaddith Qumī (d. 1294/1915).³⁸ Both Ibn al-Fūwațī and Qayşarī identified the name of his grandfather as Abū al-Ghanā'im.³⁹

There are three other great masters, who possess the same name as 'Abd al-Razzāq, which may be confused with Kāshānī. First, Abū Fadl Kāmāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Aḥmad, one of his contemporary Sufi, who was known as Ibn al-Fūwatī al-Shaybānī (d. 723/1323),⁴⁰the author of *Majma* ' *al-Ādāb Fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb*. The second is Kāmāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Isḥāq

³⁴ Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Fūwaţī was an Iraqi historian, who wrote a great deal, but whose works have mostly been lost. His most important work is *Majma* ' $al-\bar{A}d\bar{a}b$ *Fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb* in 50 volumes, which is lost its large portions, but only two volumes (4 & 5) are survived. They are in Library virtual Damascus and library of University of Lahore in Pakistan.S See: Singh, NK. & Samiuddin, A. (2004), *Encyclopaedic Historiography of Muslim World*, Delhi, Global Vision Publishing House, p. 374.

³⁵ Dāwūd Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad Qayṣarī was the disciple of 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī. His systematic philosophical introduction to *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* itself became the object of other commentaries. See: Rama Sankar Yadav & B.V. Mandal (2007), *Global Encyclopedia of Education*, edited by NK. Singh, Vil. 1, Delhi, Global Vision Publishing House, P. 121.

³⁶ Qayşarī, Sharh Fuşūs al-Hikam, p. 4.

³⁷ 'Allāmah Seyyid Muhsin 'Āmilī (Born 1905 in Iran) was one of *Shī'ah* Scholars, whose important book is $A'y\bar{a}n \ al-Sh\bar{i}'ah$ in 55 volumes, which is an Encyclopedia of famous *Shī'ite* men as explanation of Imamiyyah Teaching. See: Amin, Haytham (2000), *Sīrah al-Seyyid Muhsin al-Amīn*, Qum, Dār al-Najm al-Jadīd.

³⁸ Shaykh Abbas Qumī known as Muhaddith Qumī was born in 1915 in Qum/ Iran. His famous work is Mafātih al-Jinān, which is a collection of Imamiyyah Hadīth about praying. See: Mahdavi, Shireen (1999), For God, Mammon and country: A Nineteenth Century Persian Merchant, Hāj Muhammad Hassan Amin al-Zarb, USA, Westview Press, p. 259.

³⁹ Qayşarī, Sharh Fuşūs al-Hikam, p. 4; Kāshānī, Abd al-Razzāq (1984), Iistilahāt al-Sūfiyyah, Studied by 'Abd al-Khāliq Mahmud, Cairo, Dār al-Maʿārif, 2th ed. p. 31-32.
⁴⁰ Salāb al Dīn Abā (Abd al-Allāb (1074)) Functional and article and an antiparticle and an antipartic

⁴⁰ Şalāh al-Dīn Abū 'Abd al-Allāh (1974), *Fawāt al-Wafiāt*, Beirut, Dār-e Şār, Vol 1, p. 272; Al-Imām Shihāb al-Dīn Abī al-Falāh, *Shadahrāt al-Dhahab Fi Akhbār Man Dhahab*, Studied by Abd al-Qādir and Mahmūd al- Arnāuţ (1986), Beirut, Dār Ibn Kathīr, Vol 6, p 60; Zereklī, Khayr al-Dīn (1986), *al-'Alām*, Beirut, Dār al-'Ilm Lil Malāīn, Vol 3, p. 349; Āmilī, Muhsin Amīn (1983), *A 'yān al-Shī'ah*, Vol 8, Beirut, Dār al-Ta'arruf Lil Maţbū'āt, p. 5.

Samarqandī (d. 887/1482),⁴¹the author of *Maţla' Sa'dīn wa Majma' Baḥrayn*. The third one is 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd Kāshānī (d. 735/1335), the author of *Mişbāḥ al-Hidāyah wa Miftāḥ al-Kifāyah* and *Kashf al-Wujūh al-Ghar Lī Ma'anī Naẓm al-Dur*.

The beginning of the second half of the fourteen century, when Kāshānī started his education, was synchronized with the Mongol's reign. Before then, Persia, Iraq, Syria and Asia Minor were the home of culture and education. There were hundreds of schools in Hirat, Nayshābūr, Isfahān, Başrah and Baghdād, but after the Mongol's devastation, these centers were completely destroyed. Most masters and students were killed or forced to leave these centers. And, even if some of them remained, they lost their previous glory and importance.⁴²Therefore, Kāshānī spent his entire life in insecure times, with ravaging of Chinggis relatives. It was in this period that Kāshānī studied the traditional religious science. Unfortunately, we do not have much information about him in this period, but according to his letter to 'Alā' al-Dawlah Simnānī, we can assume that he would have been an expertise in Figh, Hadīth, Tafsīr and Theology and Knowledge of Courtesy and Wisdom⁴³. His Al-Sawānih al-*Ghaybiyyah* is proof of his proficiency in Arabic literature. Although, he did not write any treatises about *Figh* and *Hadīth*, his works are full of knowledge of theology and logic. His treatise Mabda' Wa Ma'ād is a bare sample of his widespread knowledge of Hadīth. Hence, his deciple, Dāwūd Qayşarī called him

⁴¹ He is the author of *Maţla* '*Sa* '*dīn* wa *Majma* '*Baḥrayn*, an important historical source about the Mongol and Taymurid's period. There are three valid prescriptions available in library of Iran and Turkey. See: Zarrinkūb, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn (2000), *Dunbālah-e Justijū Dar Taṣawwuf Iran*, Tehran, Amir Kabir, p. 49.

⁴² 'Aţā Mulk Ibn Muhammad Jūwaynī (2007), *Tārīkh-e Jahāngushā*, studied by 'Allāmah Qazwīnī, Tehran, Ferdaws, Vol.1, p.139; Istarābādī, Muhammd Qāsim Hindūshāh, *Tarīkh-e Fereshteh* (2010), Tehran, Anjuman Āthār wa Mafākhir Farhangī, p.121; Saliba, George (2007), *Islamic Science and Making of the European Renaissance*, USA, MIT Press, pp. 236-243.

⁴³ See Kāshānī's first letter to 'Alā' al-Dawlah Simnānī in: Hādizādeh, Majīd (2000), *Majmū 'ah Rasā'il wa Muşannafāt 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī*, Tehran, Mirāth Maktūb.

"Master of Scholars" and Sayyid Haydar Āmulī (d. after 782/1380)⁴⁴ described him as "The Greatest master and Sea of Middling (*al-Mūlī al-'Aẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍm*) also positioning him at the level of Imām Fakhr Rāzī (d. 606/1209),⁴⁵ Khawjah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273)⁴⁶, Imām al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Avicenna (d. 428/1037).⁴⁷According to Jāmī, he is the one, who possesses both inward and outward knowledge.⁴⁸

According to Kāshānī's notes, some of the Sufi masters played important roles in his life:⁴⁹Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ṣadr al-Dīn Rūzbahān (d. 685/1286), *shaykh* Aşīl al-Dīn Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī al-Maḥāsin Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mahdī al-'Alawī al-Muḥammadī (d. 685/1316), *shaykh* Nūr al-Dīn Abd al-Raḥmān Isfarāyenī (d. ca. 698/1299) and Nūr al-Dīn Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn 'Alī Iṣfahānī Naṭanzī (d. 699/1300) and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥakim Kīshī (d. 694/1295) and *shaykh* Zahīr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Najīb al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Buzghush Shirāzī (d.716/1316) and Nāṣīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Maḥmūd Ibn al-Imām Diā' al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan Mas'ūd Ibn Maḥmūd al-Shirāzī (d. 705/1306). In addition to these seven masters, Kāshānī also named another two masters of

⁴⁴ He was the Persian jurist and Sufi, who was follower of Kubrawiyyah Order. He tried to demonstrate that *Shī'ah* and genuine Sufism have same source and basic origin. See: *Sufism, An Entry to Encyclopaedia of the World of Islam* (2012), ed. By Ghulām 'Alī Haddād 'Ādil & Muhammad Jafar & Tāromī, Rād, UK, EWI Press, p. 55.

⁴⁵ Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Husayn Ibn Hasan Ibn Alī Tabaristānī Rāzī, was a well-known Persian Sunni Muslim, theologian and philosopher. He also wrote on medicines, physics, astrology, literature, history and law. See: N. Hanif (2002), *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis: Central Asia and Middle East*, New Delhi, Sarup & Sons, Vol. 2, p. 372.

⁴⁶ Khawjah Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hasan Tūsī better known as Nasīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī was a Persian polymath and prolific writer, an astronomer, biologist, chemist, mathematician, philosopher, physician, physicist, scientist, theologian. The Muslim scholar Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) considered him to be the greatest of the later Persian scholars. See: Boyle, J. A. (2001), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge UK, University press, 4th ed., Vol. 5, p. 620.

⁴⁷ Āmulī, Sayyid Haydar (2008), *Jāmi ' al-Asrār wa Manba ' al- Anwār*, Tehran, Hermes, p.498.

⁴⁸ Jāmī, Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1988), *Nafaḥāt al-Uns Min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, Tehran, Sa'dī, p.482.

⁴⁹ Lory, *Les Commentoires esoteriques*, Persian trans.,p. 234.

whom we have a few information: first Nūr al-Dīn Abar Qūhī, and second *shaykh* Qutb al-Dīn Ibn Dīyā' al-Dīn Abī al-Ḥasan.⁵⁰

The most life of Kāshānī spent to join acompny Nūr al-Dīn Abd al-Ṣamad Naṭanzī and Shams al-Dīn Kishī instead of traveling. He himself was an experienced master of lots of students and taught the mysterious text like *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. One of his prominent students, Dāwud Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350) reportet:

"As I joined to my master, al-Qāsānī, a group of my brothers was learning about the mysterious knowledge about the beauty (*al-Jamāl*) and glory (*al-Jalāl*) of God through reading *Fuṣū al-Hikam* by him".⁵¹

Qayşarī, whose commentary on *Fuşūş al-Ḥikam* is the most widely read commentary in the eastern land of Islam, undoubtedly, learned *Fusūs* by Kāshānī.⁵²Kāshānī and his students were under the protection of Persian Sufi's minister, Khawjah Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad.⁵³

Kāshānī at the late of his life had a journey to Sulţāniyyah, where he decided to contact 'Alā al-Dawlah Simnānī (d. 736/1336). According to Jāmī, Mīr Iqbāl Sīstānī accompanied Kāshānī in this journey and their discussion about the *Wahdah al-Wujūd* gave him the idea to write a letter to Simnānī.⁵⁴Their correspondences is related to the one of challenging and interesting debate about the conception of *tawhīd*, according to theory of Ibn Arabī's teaching, called *Wahdah al-Wujūd*. These two letters are the representative of two different Schools of thought called *Wahdah al-Wujūd* and *Wahda al-Shuhūd*, while they

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 234.

⁵¹ Qaysarī, Sharh Fusūs al-Hikam, p. 4.

⁵² Chittick, William C. (2000), A Short Introduction to Sufism, One World Publications, The University of Michigan, p. 28; Ali Khan, Massood & Shaykh Azhar Iqbal (2005), Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Delhi, Common wealth Publisher, p. 274; Sankar Yadav, Rama & Mandal, B. V. (2007), Global Encyclopedia of Education, New Delhi, Global publishsing House, Vol. 1, p. 119) and Nasr, Seyyed Hossein (1996), History of Islam, London, Routledge, p. 518

⁵³ Amir Ghīāth al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Rashīd al-Dīn Fadl Allāh, The Ministery of Ilkhanid reign.
⁵⁴ Jāmī, 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Ahmad (1991), *Naqd al-Nuşūş Fī Sharh Naqsh al-Fuşuş*, Tehran, Mu'assessah Muţāli'āt wa Tahqīqāt Farhangī, p.482 and Simnānī, 'Alā al-Dawlah (1984), *al-Urwah lī Ahl al-Khalwah wa al-Jilwah*, Studied by Najīb Māil Hirawī, Tehran, Mawlā, p. 46.

are based on the same principle Unity (*waḥdah*). Kāshānī wrote these letters as he was settled in kāshān.⁵⁵Later, he decided to go to Naṭanz, where the journey of his education was started and his first master was rested in his tomb. That was the place, where he found his way for the first and rest for ever.

2.2 KĀSHĀNĪ ON THE STATE OF AL-KARAM AND AL-QĀDIR

The prominent trait of Kāshānī, is his courtesy to his masters and his effort to exonerate some of his contemporary scholars from blasphemous accusations. In addition, his tolerant and gentle approach toward his opponents shows his high spiritual stage in the spiritual path. This characteristic earned him the tendency and cooperation of minister, Khawjah Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 736/1336),⁵⁶which depicts his respectful place and influence in Mongol government.⁵⁷

He clearly speaks about two spiritual stages, which he attained during his life: *al-karīm* and *al-qādīr*. As he explained about "*al-'Ibādah*" in Laṭāif al-A'lām Fī Ishārāt ahl al-Ilhām, when the term slave ('*abd*) is added to one of God's attributions, it means that this attribution is completely manifested in the slave.⁵⁸ According to Kāshānī's point of view, '*abd Allāh* is a slave of God, who manifested the name '*abd*, in other words, he is an image of all God's names and attributes, because he attained the ultimate stage of manifestation, which is the most complete expression of God's attributes. Hence, he has the high rank among

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 488.

⁵⁶ The minister of Abū Sa'īd Ilkhān Mongol (1317-1336)

⁵⁷ Mustawfī, Hamd Allāh (1982), *Tārīkh Guzīdeh*, Tehran, Markaz Nashr Dānishgāhī, p. 610; Kāshānī, 'Abd al-Razzāq (1993), *Sharḥ Manāzil al-Sāerīn*, Studied by Muḥsin Bidārfar, Qum, Bidār, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Kāshānī, 'Abd al-Razzāq (1992), *Istilāhāt al- Sūfiyyah*, edited by 'Abd al-Sharif, Cairo, Dār al-Manār, p. 124

creatures and serves God in the complete form of slavery. This stage, certainly, belongs to Prophet (p.b.u.h).⁵⁹

However, Kāshānī was able to manifest two names of God: *al-karīm* and *alqādīr. Al-karīm* is one of God's names. Arabs call a person *karīm*, who forgives the guilty and is kind to misbehavers.⁶⁰According to Kāshānī, *al-karīm* is a stage, in which God purifies the believer from all moral failure and gifted him ethical adornment. He is aware of God as generous and merciful and hopes for God's forgiveness. In his eyes, people's sins are worthless against the forgiveness of God. Moreover; he is aware of his stage and does not exceed his limit. He knows that the original owner is God and everything he has is a gift from Him; hence, he shares his assets with other people and forgives their failures.⁶¹ He wrote:

> The whole matter is that I am your slave (*'abd*), The slave of a generous would never be mistreated, It is true that I committed many sins, But forgiveness is a custom of generous.⁶²

In his point of view, *abd al-qādir* is a person, who manifests the name *al-qādīr*. He observes God's mighty anywhere and God's power is beyond others.⁶³Therefore he argued:

"... This slave ('*abd al-qādir*) strongly believes the strength of God's assistance to creations; therefore, he finds the mortality of himself and the humility and worthless of stage of believers; as he saw the power

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 126.

⁶⁰ Sam'ānī, Shahāb al-Dīn Ahmad (1989), *Rūh al-Arwāh Fī Sharh Asmā' al-Mulk al-Fattāh*, Tehtran, Najīb Mā'il Hirawī, Bunyād, p. 367.

⁶¹ Kāshānī, *Istilāhāt al- Şūfiyyah*, p. 133-134

⁶² Kāshānī (2001), *Latāif al-A lām Fī Ishārāt al-Ilhām*, Studied by Majīd Hādī Zādeh, Tehran, Mirāth Maktūb, p. 505.

⁶³ Kāshānī,, Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah, p. 139.

of God existing in everything, he finds himself more needful than the slightest person".⁶⁴

He is aware that the entire mighty belongs to God and His might cover all of creation. All actions and reactions are the manifestation of His mighty and nothing is beyond it; therefore, he portrayed God's power that nothing can be a barrier to Him from doing the right thing. On the other hand, he finds himself a humble and needful person and subsequently has understanding and tolerance towards his opponents. He wrote about the stage of *al-qādir*:

I am slave to the power of Allāh, When it appears in the action of resident, Hence, I am characterized by humiliation and disability, needful of the slightest being.⁶⁵

According to Sufis, the supreme ethics is attainable by gaining these two stages. Kāshānī's conduct against mistreatment of his opponents shows us the manifestation of these two ethics in his personality. For example, 'Alā al-Dawlah Simnānī excommunicated him and claimed that he is far of pure food and right saying; however, Kāshānī wrote him:

"... To great *shaykh* of Islam, guardian of *sharī* '*ah*, whose inner is illuminated of light of faith and peripatetic, are the resident of his glory marquee and...".

Then, politely continues:

"... After praying for you, I should confess that I, as a poor Sufi, never mentioned your name without full of curtsey ... I thought you may not agree with it and it may bother you..."

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Kāshānī (2001), Latāif al-A'lām Fī Ishārāt al-Ilhām, p. 512.

So, it is clear that he did not lose his courtesy and tolerance against his opponents; since he is aware that every action is not out of his power and might; rather, he tried to answer with respect and covers their mistakes. In one of his treatises about a famous person,⁶⁶He wrote:

"...One of great master, a guardian of *sharī* '*ah*, whose piety is basis of his knowledge calls one of pervious scholars as unawareness and lost, and claimed that he deserves punishment because of doing some mistakes, while he was a knowledgeable scholar ..."⁶⁷.

The courtesy, tolerance, acceptance and interaction according to all groups of Sufis, theologian and jurisprudence, are the prominent qualities of his character. Study Islamic literatures from fourteenth century onward, depict the polemical discussion around Ibn Arabī's legacy. It is not surprising, when Awhid al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 635/1238) was called innovative by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī⁶⁸or 'Alā al-Dawlah Simnānī, clearly, held no respect for *shaykh* Akbar. In this regard, some Sufis took it upon themselves to protect his teaching vis-à-vis the controversial Muslim masters. In this regard, Kāshānī, as a commentator of Ibn 'Arabī's teachings, chose a different way from others. It is clear, who finds himself more needful than the slightest person, can never disrespect other masters.

2.3 THE PLACE OF KĀSHĀNĪ IN SUFISM

Kāshānī, certainly, is one of most prolific writers in the history of Sufism. Although he is mostly known as a commentator, but in this part we will describe those characteristic features of his writings that help to presents him as an aspired

⁶⁶ He might be Ibn 'Arabī.

⁶⁷ Lory, *Les Commentoires*, Persian trans., p. 229.

⁶⁸ Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn (1987), *Rashaf al-Naṣā'ih al-Imāniyyah wa Kasf al-Fadhā'ih al-Yūnāniyyah*, Tehran, Najīb Mā'ail Hirawī, Bunyād, p.5.

Sufi author and to explain his great influence on Sufism, especially in Persian Sufism, not only as a commentator, but also as an independent thinker.

2.3.1 KĀSHĀNĪ AS A COMMENTATOR

In the Muslim world, Kāshānī's name is knotted to Ibn Arabī as a commentator of his teachings. His interpretations bewildered both his Muslim and non-Muslim readers. Although, Ibn Arabī's works has been interpreted by some other Sufis like Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), Tilmisānī (d. 690/1291), Jandī (d. 691/1292) and Furghānī (d. 699/1300), Kāshānī's commentaries possess a unique place among them.⁶⁹ In this regard, the Persian Professor Bidārfar has a comparison study between Kāshānī and Tilmisānī commentary on *Fuşūş al-Ḥikam*.⁷⁰However, Kāshānī's commentary is not as long as Tilmesānī, but it is a comprehensive interpretation written in simple literature. Actually, Kāshānī's style of classification is the prominent point, which differ his commentaries from others.⁷¹

It is worthy of mention that,- almost one century after Ibn Arabī,- the School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd* was in ultimate widespread by his disciples, and its vocabulary and related subjects were fixed. Therefore, Kāshānī could use more creative allegories and spiritual terms without religious apologies, and he tried to regularize the metaphysical theories founded by Ibn 'Arabī.

In addition, Kāshānī's tendency to write simple and keeping away from complex literary expression, absorbed not only academics, but also a broad band of non-specialists, who were interested in Sufism;⁷²even contemporary scholars

⁶⁹ Sankar Yadav, *Global Encyclopedia of Education*, p. 119.

⁷⁰ Kāshānī, 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Sharh Manāzil al-Sāerīn*, Moḥsin Bidārfar, Tehran, Bīdār, p. 32.

⁷¹ Lory, *Les Commentaries*, Persian trans., p. 34.

⁷² Āmulī, Sayyid Haydar (1992), *Nas al-Nusūs*, Introduction by William Chittik, Tehran,

Mū'ssisah Mutāliāt wa Tahqiqāt Farhangī, p. 13 and Morris, James Winston (1987), "Ibn Arabi

like Izutsu called Kāshānī the greatest figure emerging from Ibn 'Arabī's School. Current scholars recognize his commentary the second source after Fusus and frequently refer to it in order to explain the Ibn 'Arabī's teaching.⁷³

Kāshānī's commentary is not limited only to Fusūs, his explanation on Manāzil al-Sāerīn of Khawjah Abd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1089) is also well known to all exponents. *shavkh* Havdar \overline{A} mulī (d. 787/1385)⁷⁴ wrote about it:

"... And there are some commentaries on Manāzil al-Sāerīn; however, the greatest and best investigation among them belongs to great master, Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, the complete theist (mūwahhid), the king of Sufis, honor of nation, righteousness and religion".⁷⁵

Moreover, Kashanī's extraordinary accuracy of text, solutions to problems, mastery of Persian-Arabic literature and methods of writing; in addition to his spiritual experience, made his works unique. His teachings are, as well, taught in courses at some universities and traditional Islamic academics. Kāshānī himself said about his commentary:

"There was different version of Manāzil al-Sāerīn, in which the phrases were dissimilar. In some part of it distortion and wrong phrases were clearly observed, while some other phrases were misleading; therefore, it was difficult to distinguish the right sentence from the wrong. Until with God's help, I received a correct version confirmed by shavkh's writing in 475 H. So, I started to correct and safely interpret book; since, I felt in this way *shaykh* has shown me his permission to work on his book".⁷⁶

Generally, the style and method of Kāshānī's commentaries made them an

extraordinarily archetypal. His explanation of theoretical Sufism, showing the

and his interpreters", part II, Jornal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 106, pp. 733-756. (www.ibnarabisociety.org/articlespdf/hi_interpreters3.pdf) ⁷³ Izutsu, Toshihiko (1983), Sufism and Taoism, University of California Publ., p. 23.

⁷⁴ Savvid Haydar Āmulī was a Shī ite Sufi, philosophers and an early representative of Persian Imamite theosophy and one of the most distinguished commentators of Ibn 'Arabī, during the 14th century.

Āmulī, Haydar (2009), Jāmi' al-Asrār wa Manba' al-Anwār, corrected by 'Uthmān Ismāil Yahyā and Henry Corbin, Qum, Markaz Mutāliāt wa Madārik Islami, 2th ed., p.326.

⁷⁶ Kāshānī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-Sāerīn*, p. 622.

individual spiritual realization, can be used as an example by beginners on the spiritual path.

2.3.2 KĀSHĀNĪ AS A CREATOR AUTHOR

Kāshānī is a creative Sufi author making an archetype of guidance for better understanding of Sufis' idioms. Ibn al-Fuwaţī expressed on his proficiency and skills of writing.⁷⁷His book, *Isțilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyyah*, is a key guide for understanding the different stages of spiritual path (*Sulūk*).⁷⁸ It the comprehensive and most read work in Sufism. It contains 760 Sufi's technical terms. The sum of technical terms in *Risālah Qushayriyyah* (47 terms), *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (85 terms), *Isțilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyyah* of Ibn 'Arabī' (251 terms) and the technical terms in *Futūḥāt al-Makiyyah* (164 terms) is 547 terms, which less than terms in *Isțilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*.

Kāshānī's prayer at the beginning of the book depicts his motivation of writing this book. He is thankful to God for His mercy for being needless from reasoning and arguments. Why did Kāshānī begin his prayer with blessing God for liberation of theologian disputes? His blessing mentions the unending challenge story between formal theologian and spiritual experiences.⁷⁹In fact, we can find the main aim of *Isțilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah* in this perpetual conflict. According to Sufis, the Philosophical thought and quoted works are not a reliable source for discovering truth; therefore, no theologian can attain the real knowledge. The spiritual knowledge is higher than rational knowledge; since, it is

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

⁷⁸ Lory, *Les Commentaries*, Persian trans., p. 34.

⁷⁹ Kāshānī, Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah, p.3.

derived from inspiration, a kind of knowledge beyond the intellect.⁸⁰ Hence, the Sufis talk about this knowledge in an encoded language and conceal the truth under terms and idioms. According to Kāshānī, these truths are secrets; even scholars cannot understand them correctly. And if they knew them, they would be hurt or mislead.⁸¹

As it was mentioned before, Kāshānī considered the heritage of two Sufi zones in order to give a comprehensive image of Sufism. He, however, went further and analyzed Sufi's origin in his work *Tuḥfah al- Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*. He found the origin of Sufism in *futuwwah* (chivalry), which was initiated by Prophet Abraham; about which we will discuss in later chapters. In this regard, he was more influenced by Khurāsān School; since, chivalry was more considered and studied by Khurāsān's Sufis, such as Abd al-Raḥmān Sulamī and Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, than Sufis in Andalusia and Egypt.

On one hand, Kashānī was familiar with the theology and philosophy of School of Illumination, His works, on the other hand, not only present the teaching of Ibn 'Arabī, but also reflect Suhrawardī's philosophy. Although, in Kāshānī's cosmology, the trace of philosophy can be seen, yet it is different from Fārābī's and Avecina's view. For example, from Kāshānī's cosmology standpoint, the intellect agent possesses the second stage of determination, descent, or first stage, after the presence of essence, while it has the tenth stage according to Fārābī's and Avecina's point of view.⁸²

⁸⁰ Kāshānī, *Isțilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah*, p. 30; Heon Choul Kim (2008), *The Nature and Role of Sufism in Contemporary Islam: A Case Study of Life and Thought and Teaching of Fethullah Gulen*, United State, ProQuest, p. 199 and Titus Burckhardt (2008), *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, Indiana, World Wisdom Inc., p. 82-85.

⁸¹ Kāshānī, *Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah*, p. 3

⁸² Lory, *Les Commentaries*, Persian trans., p. 41.

In addition, Kāshānī's works are providing a set of spiritual worldview in the origin and resurrection (*mabda' wa ma'ad*) treatise. He also has a comparative analysis to basics principle of religion and Sufism in his *Tashrīqāt* treatise. Another prominent feature of Kāshānī is his efforts for strengthening the scientific principle of Sufism through its approximation with *sharī'ah* and Qur'ān. His remarkable esoteric interpretation *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, is a proof of this claim. ⁸³

Kāshānī's numerous compilations show his high grade knowledge; in addition, popularizing his writings depicts his importance place in history of Sufism. According to his disciple, Qayşārī, he taught some of his student mysterious, delicate and accurate Sufis texts.⁸⁴Because of his high degree knowledge and talent to organize difficult subjects and make them understandable for all classes of people, his students asked him to write a commentary on *Fuşūş al-Ḥikam and Manāzil al-Sāerīn*.⁸⁵

Kāshānī's several short treatises were mostly written according to request of his students or state authorities. For example, due to extremely controversial arguments around origin (*mabda'*) and resurrection (*ma'ād*), some of his disciples and authorities asked him to write about it.⁸⁶ Similarly, his *Sawāniḥ al-Ghaybiyyah* was written in order to answer the questions of people of convent (*khānqāh*)⁸⁷, which contains his spiritual experiences.⁸⁸

⁸³ Lory, Les Commentaries, Persian trans., p.6; Singh, Global Encyclopedia of Islamic Mystic and Mysticism, Vol. 1, p. 119.

⁸⁴ Qayşarī, Sharh Fuşūs al-Hikam, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Kāshānī, Sharh Fusūs al-Hikam, p. 3

⁽www.sufi.ir/books/download/arabic/kashani/Qashany_fusus[1].pdf).

⁸⁶ Ibn al-Fuwațī (1995), Majma' al-Ādāb Fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb, Tehran, Irshād Islamī, Vol.4, p. 181

⁸⁷ The Sufi's covent is called *Khānqāh*. See: Kuban, Duğan (1974), *Muslim Religious* Architecture: Development of Religious Architecture in Later Periods, Part II, Leiden E. J. Brill, Vol. 3, p. 37.

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Fuwatī, *Majma ' al-Ādāb*, p. 181.

Despite of this fact that Kāshānī' works reflects Ibn 'Arabī's teachings, we can observe some small different views, which marks him as an independent thinker. For example, according to spiritual stages, Ibn 'Arabī believed in a stage above the ultimate honest (*qurb*). This is a stage of immanency (*qurbat*), of which the pervious Sufis were not aware. He allocated chapter 161 of *al-Futūhāt al-Makiyyah* to this stage, which is a stage between truth and prophecy.⁸⁹ According to 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, the ultimate stage of spiritual stage is truth (*şidq*), so that even sometimes it is recognized as one of four basic principles of faith.⁹⁰ Sufis, usually, accept that the last stage of spiritual journey is behind the stage of prophecy. Kāshānī, indeed, speaks about truth in details and tells about different kinds of it in *Latāif al-A'lām*. He also gives a similar meaning of the ultimate honest (*ra's al-şiddiqīn*) with the greatest pole (*quţb akbar*). According to his teaching, the last and the ultimate stage for a peripatetic is the ultimate honest and attaining this stage means that the peripatetic has passed the stage of faith (*imām*) and is called pole.

Undoubtedly, after Ibn 'Arabī, al-Ghazālī and Sulamī, Kāshānī is one of the most influencial writers in the history of Sufism. Jamī called him a great scholar, who gathered all inner and outward knowledge in himself.⁹¹ Kāshānī's specific interpretation on School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd* with the back ground of Suhrawardī's Philosophy, including his personal spiritual experience, made him an independent Sufi author. The above features are enough to distinguish his works from others and make them always at the center of scholars' interest.

⁸⁹ Ibn 'Arabī (2010), *Al-Futuwhāt al-Makiyyah*, Corrected by 'Uthmān Ismāīl Yaḥyā, Beirut, Dār Sār, Vol.2, p. 260.

⁹⁰ Hamūyah, Sa'd al-Dīn (1983), *Al- Misbāḥ īi al-Taṣawwūf*, Studied by Najīb Māyil Hirawī, Tehran, Mawlā', p. 94 and Suhrawardī, '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, p. 532.

⁹¹ Jāmī, Nafahāt al-Uns, p. 482.

2.4 KĀSHĀNĪ 'S IMPACT ON PERSIAN SUFISM

As previously mentioned, Kāshānī is one of the foremost and certainly one of the influential representatives of what may more rightfully be called School of Wahdah al-Wuj $\bar{u}d$.⁹²Through his commentaries and teachings this theory was promoted in the eastern Islamic world, especially in Persia. He is a central core of two main components of Sufism arising from different areas: First, practical Sufism and spiritual rules from Khurāsān till Baghdād, which ultimately can be observed in Manāzil al-Sāerīn and 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif. Second, creation and explanation of delicate spiritual concepts by Ibn 'Arabī and his disciple Qūnawī from Andalusia and Egypt untill Konya. Kāshānī's equal understanding of these two mystics' zones and assimilation of them has given a complete image of Sufism. Kashanī's commentary on *Fusūs al-Hikam* was the starting point of further development of Ibn 'Arabī's teaching in Iran. This later appeared in the new spiritual movement in Persian Sufism through his indirect successors, like Sayyid Haydar Āmulī (d.787/1385) and Ni'mat Allāh Walī (d. 834/1431), whose works frequently refer to Kāshānī and present the vitality and deep influence of him.

Among *Shī'ite* Imāmiyyah, Āmulī was especially important in bringing Ibn al-'Arabī's teaching into the mainstream of *Shī'ite* thought in Iran. He wrote enormous commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*, called *Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ* and edified the abstract of Kāshānī's *Iṣțilaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, which later was translated into Persian in detailed explanation. He investigated the meaning of the *Fuṣūṣ* on three levels: The Qur'ān and narratives (*naql*), Theology and Philosopy (*'aql*), and the own

⁹² Morris, "Ibn 'Arabī and his Interpreters", p.106-108.

spiritual experience (kashf).⁹³In Amulī point of view, the reality of Sufism and Shī'ite Imāmiyyah are the same and true Shī'ite is Sufis; therefore, he recognizes the Imāmiyyah infallible leaders (*imām*) as Sufi.⁹⁴

It is worthy of mention that Persian commentaries on the Fusus are frequently based on the Arabic commentary of Kāshānī. He taught Fuşūş to Dāwūd Qaysarī (d.751/1350), the author of dozens of works in Arabic and Persian. His systematic philosophical introduction to Sharh al-Fusūs itself became the object of later Persian commentaries. An approval for it is the first Persian commentary on Fuşūş, Nuşūş al-Khuşūş, written by his student Bābā Rukn-al-Din Shirāzī (d. 769/1368).⁹⁵

The poet and Sufi master, Shah Ni'mat-Allāh Walī, followed closely in the tracks of Kāshānī and Qaysarī. In addition, of over one hundred treatises on theoretical and practical Sufism, which are directly rooted in Wahda al-Wujūd School, he wrote *Risālah Ta'rifāt*, which is the Persian translation of Kāshānī's Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah.⁹⁶

In Persia, even some Sufi authors like 'Ala'-al-Dawlah Simnānī (d. 736/1336), who had a critical view to Ibn al-'Arabī's world view, credited markedly from terminology established by Kāshānī and his immediate followers.⁹⁷ Sometimes Sufis did not take the criticisms of these authors too seriously. Typical are the remarks of Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d.

⁹³ Āmulī (1969), Naş al-Nuşūş, edited by Henry Corbin & 'Uthmān īslmāil Yaḥyā, Tehran,

Mu'assessah Ilmī wa Farhangī Iran wa Francea and Morris, "Ibn 'Arabī and his Interpreters", pp. 106-08.

⁹⁴ 'Āmulī, Moḥsin Amīn (1982), A 'yān al-Shī 'ah, vol. 6, Beirut, Dār al-Ta'āruf Lil Maṭbūāt, p.

^{273.} ⁹⁵ Rukn al-Dīn Shirāzī (1980), Nuşūş al-Khuşūş Fī al-Tarjumah al-Fuşūş, Tehran, Rajab 'Alī Mazlūmī Publ.

⁹⁶ Ibn Muhammad Ibn Kāmql al-Dīn Yahyā Kirmānī, Ni'mat Allāh Walī (1978), Rasāil Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī, Studied by Jawād Nūrbakhsh, Tehran, Khānqāh Ni'mat Allāh, p. 3.

⁹⁷ Landolt, Herman (1973), "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Kashani und Simnani über Wahda al-Wujūd", Der Islam 50: 93-111.

829/1426)⁹⁸, who studied with Semnānī but sided with Kāshānī in his defense of Ibn al-'Arabī against Simnānī's criticisms.⁹⁹According to him, Simnānī had not correctly understood what Ibn al-'Arabī was saying. Kāshānī might have the main role to change Simnānī's opinion towards Ibn 'Arabī. However, Simnānī retracted his idea about Ibn 'Arabī before his death and recognized him as ''People of the Right", but remained constant against the theory of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*.¹⁰⁰

2.5 KĀSHĀNĪ'S WORKS

There are more than forty treatises related to Kāshānī; however, for some of them is a question if they were really written by him, such as *al-Sirāj al-Wahhāj* and *Risālah Fī Badāyah Khalq Insān and al-Nuşūş*. Despite of Kashānī's numerous treatises in Arabic and Persian, he generally is famous because of his commentaries on *Fuşūş al-Hikam* and *Manāzil al-Sāerīn* and *Işțilāḥāt al-Şūfiyyah*. In addition, his most read work is *T'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, which is frequently published under the name of Ibn 'Arabī.

 $Ta'w\bar{\imath}lat \ al-Qur'\bar{a}n$, undoubtedly, is one of the valuable esoteric interpretations. It is in two volumes: The first volume begins with the commentary of $S\bar{u}rah \ F\bar{a}tihah$ till end of $S\bar{u}rah \ Kahf$, and the second volume contains commentaries of $S\bar{u}rah \ Maryam$ untill end of the $Qur'\bar{a}n$. His book is published under the title of the Ibn 'Arabī's commentary on Qur'ān ($Tafs\bar{\imath}r \ Ibn$

⁹⁸ Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī was one of famous Sufi in India and founder of *Ashrafiyyah* Order, the suborder of *Kubrawiyyah* order. His important book is *Lațā'if Ashrafī*, which is collected by his disciple Niẓām Ḥājī Yamanī.

⁹⁹ Mahmūdiān, Hamid (1993), "Wahdah al-Shuhūd in 'Alā al- Dawlah Simnānī's point of view", Irfān, 18: 187.

¹⁰⁰ 'Alā' al-Dawlah Simnānī (1985), *Chihil Majlis*, Corrected by Najīb Mā'il Hirawī, Tehran, Adīb, p.137, 353.

'*Arabī*).¹⁰¹In this regard, the French scholar, Pierre Lorry discussed the questionable subject whether the author of $T'awīl\bar{a}t \ al-Qur'\bar{a}n$ is Kāshānī or Ibn 'Arabī? He argued that Ta'wīlat belongs to Kāshānī; since the most available manuscripts of $T'wīl\bar{a}t \ al-Qur'\bar{a}n$ belongs to him.¹⁰²

There are many argumentation that proofs *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān* belongd to Kāshānī. In the introduction of *Istiliḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, Kāshānī mentioned to *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān al-Karīm:*

"...After, I have finished Sharh Manāzil al-Sāerīn and Sharh Fuşūş al-Hikam and Ta'wīlāt al-Quran, I started to write Işțilihāt al-Şūfiyyah ..."

Kāshānī, sometimes, mentioned to his Ta'wīlāt in Sharh Fusūs al-Hikam:

"...Who wants to confirm, can check with the $Ta'w\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}t \ al-Qur'\bar{a}n$, which I wrote...."

"... Who wants to study the truth of this story and its similar tales, revise it in $Ta' w \bar{\imath} l \bar{a} t$, which I wrote about Qur' \bar{a} n..."¹⁰⁵

In addition in $Ta'w\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}t~al-Qur'\bar{a}n$, when Kāshānī explained the story about "Bilquis Throne", cited from Ibn 'Arabī.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, in the second volume of $Ta'w\bar{\imath}lat~al-Qu'\bar{a}n$, the author by interpreting the verse thirty of $S\bar{u}rah~al-Qis\bar{a}s$ called Nūr al-Dīn Abd al-Ṣamad Naṭanzī (d. 699/1300) as his shaykh or pole.¹⁰⁷ It is clear that Naṭanzī was one of the Suhrawardiyyah patriarchs and Kāshānī's master.¹⁰⁸ Plus the proof of other great masters like shaykh Haydar Āmulī, Jāmī and Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Ḥamzah Fanārī

¹⁰¹ Ibn 'Arabī (2001), *Tafsīr Ibn 'Arabī*, studied by *shaykh* 'Abd al-Wārith Muhammad, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

¹⁰² Lory, Les Commentaries, Persian trans., p. 65-66.

¹⁰³ Kāshānī (1992), Istilihāt al-Sūfiyyah, p. 42.,

¹⁰⁴ Kāshānī, Sharh Fusūs al-Hikam, p. 309.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 206, 320.

¹⁰⁶ Kāshānī, Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Vol. 2, p. 110.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p.228.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 37-38 and Lory, Les Commentaries, Persian trans., p. 66.

(d. 834/1431),¹⁰⁹ we can conclude that *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, without doubt, belongs to Kāshānī. The list below is an index of Kāshānī's works. Some of them are small treatises, which are written according to answer a question.

2.5.1 THE PERSIAN COMPILATION

- 1. Risālah Fī Bidāyat Khalq al-Insān
- 2. Risālah Mukhtaşar Dar Mabda' wa Ma'ād
- 3. Risālah Tashrīqāt
- 4. Risālah Dar Tafsīr Qwl al-Nabī: Three extermination and three salvation (Thalāth Muhlakat wa Thalath Munjiyyāt)
- 5. *Pāsukh bi Pursish yeki az Buzurgan (Letter on answering to the Question of one of Great Sage)*
- 6. Kāshānī's letter to Simanānī I
- 7. Kāshānī's letter to Simanānī II
- 8. Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān
- 9. Tuhfah al-Ikhwān fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān
- 10. Harmonized Persian Compilation
- 11. Fawāid Farsī:
- *i.* In the Reality of Gratitude
- *ii.* On the Question from the 'Alī Ibn Abī <u>Tālib about Justice and liberality</u>
- iii. On the Inner Heterogeneity between the

God's word before and after that

¹⁰⁹ Āmulī, *Jami ' al-Asrār wa Manba ' al-Anwār*, p. 50, 498; Fanārī, *Hamzah* (1995), *Misbah al-Uns Bayn al-Ma 'qūl wa al-Mashhūd*, studied by Khawjawī, Tehran, Mawlā', p.279, 280, 369 and Jāmī, (2007) *Nafahāt al-Uns Min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, 5th ed., Tehran, Sukhan, p. 383.

2.5.1 THE ARABIC COMPILATION

- 1. Ta'wīlat al-Qur'ān
- 2. Istlāhāt al-Sūfiyyah
- 3. Sharh Fuṣūs al-Ḥikam
- 4. Sharh Manāzil al-Sāerīn
- 5. Sharh Mawāqi' al-Nujūm wa Maṭāli' Ahillah al-Asrār wa al- 'Ulūm
- 6. Risālah Fī Ta'wīl Bismi Allāh
- 7. Risālah 'Irfāniyyah
- 8. Risālah al-Asmāiyyah
- 9. Risalah Muʻādiyyah
- 10. Risalah Fī Qaḍā' wa Qadar
- 11. Al- Sunnat al-Sirrmadiyyah wa Ta'īn Miqdār Ayyām al-Rubūbiyyah
- 12. Al-Sawānih al-Ghaybiyyah wa al-Mawāhib al-'Eyniyyah
- 13. Tazkirah al-Fawāid
- 14. Rashah al-Zulāl Fī Sharh al-Alfāz al-Mutidāwilah Bayna Arbāb al-Azwāg wa al-Ahwāl
- 15. Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān
- 16. Fawāid al-'Arabiyyah
- 17. Tafsīr Āyat al-Kursī
- 18. Al- Sirrāj al-Wahhāj
- 19. Al- Muʻādiyyah
- 20. Tafsīr Sūrah al-Jum'ah
- 21. Fī Taḥqīq Ḥaqīqah al-Dhāt al-Aḥadyyiah
- 22. Taḥqīq Fī Ma 'nī Alif wa Lām

- 23. Al-Durrah al-Farīdah
- 24. Harmonized Arabic Compilation
- 25. Treatise on:
- i. The Prophet's saying: "Those who are merciful, God may have mercy upon them"
- ii. The relationship between God and the human
- iii. The dependency the soul to the body
- iv. The meaning of "God offers trust to creature"
- v. The logic knowledge
- vi. The fact that the entire creation is the manifestation of God
- vii. The different types of the spiritual path
- viii. The Arabic knowledge

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF CHIVALRY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The domain of study of chivalry in the Islamic world, under the general name of chivalry, is a very wide, since its cognition is combined with the culturalreligious and social situations in which it is used. The development of this term in the different periods of history made it especially complicated to study. This chapter, therefore, studies the origin of chivalry according to two historical and religious approaches. By the historical approach, this chapter discusses the main ideas of the historical origin of chivalry. And, by the religious approach, it portraits the origin of chivalry on Sufi's point of view based on the Qur'ān and *Hadīth*. In the next step, this chapter will demonstrate the ethical outlines and the historical process of growth and development of chivalry. Because of the diverse manifestation of chivalry and its wide-spread activity throughout the Muslim community on one hand, and on other hand the historical documents related to chivalry mostly found in Persian¹¹⁰ and Anatolia,¹¹¹ the discussion regarding the historical approach is limited to the chivalry in Anatolia and Persia based on Persian and western references.

3.1 THE MEANING OF CHIVALRY (FUTUWWAH)

Futuwwah is the infinitive form of the word *fatā* (pl. *fityān*), an Arabic word, which is equivalent with the English term *Juvenis/ young man*.¹¹² Before Islam, a *fatā* was attributed to a man, who was featured in two traits, courage and generosity. It was applied for an individual's behavior, whose ambition was

¹¹⁰ The territory of the Persian was included Iraq and Syria.

¹¹¹ Zākerī, Sasanid Soliders, p. 303.

¹¹² Richard C. Martin (2004), "Fatā," in: *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, New York, Macmillan, Vol. 1, p. 263-264.

defending the honor of himself and his tribe (*ird*).¹¹³ However, *fityān* (chivalrous) in over eight centuries of life was exposed to different changes, but customarily it is identified as a range of movements and constitution that, until the beginning of the modern era, were wide-spread throughout all the urban communities of Muslim East.¹¹⁴ Derived from the concept of young man, chivalry implicates important qualities of good conduct and a significant aspect of humanity.¹¹⁵

3.2 THE ORIGION OF CHIVALRY

There are number of individuals and groups appeared in the history of Arabic-Persian speaking zone before and after Islam which was described by the quality of chivalry. The wide range of studies about chivalry makes it difficult to offer a sealed origin for chivalry. However, a common theme is solidity that chivalry as a noble character, regardless of the reign in which it is used, was applied by people who shared the same style of characters as generosity, bravery and altruism. Therefore, by discussing the origin of chivalry, we provide a scheme of its historical origin, while its origin and development within the Islamic teaching is the center of this part.

¹¹³ Cahen, Cl. (1991), "Futuwwa" in: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, New Edition, Vol. 2, p. 961-2; Houtsma, M. (1993), *The First Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, Brill, p. 80 and Zākeri, Moḥsin, "Javānmardi", in: *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Digitalized 2009, Vol. 14, p. 599 (*www.iranicaonline.org/articles/javanmardi*)

¹¹⁴ Cahen, "Futuwwa" in: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 961.

¹¹⁵ Unal, 'Ali (2008), *The Quran: With Annotated Interpretation in Modern English*, USA, Tughra Books, p. 601.

3.2.1 THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF CHIVALRY

There are two main ideas about the origin of chivalry, which sought its origin in the cultural tradition of Arab and Persian before Islam.

The origin of chivalry in pre Islamic history by Arabs, goes back to the ^cAntara Ibn Shaddād al-Absī (d. 608/1211), whose courage and power on the battlefield was persistent among the Bedouin tribe of the Arabian Peninsula.¹¹⁶ However, there is no sign of the use of the word chivalry for a regular social situation with certain manners and customs in the pre Islamic period. Yet, according to the enough findings of small youth groups as an organizational association outside the Arabian Peninsula, the suggestion was raised that chivalry might be rooted in Persia, including Iraq and Syria.¹¹⁷

Regarding the earliest verification of the term chivalry in Islamic culture, found in the poetry of Bashshār Ibn Burd (95-167 Hijrah)¹¹⁸, an Arabic poet of Persian descent, it is suggested that the Persian Shu'ūbī such as Bashshār tried to popularize chivalry in the Islamic milieu as an organization inherited from the Sasanian¹¹⁹ (224 to 651 AD). In this respect, chivalry was rooted in the social and ethical code practiced by Azadan, a class of lower rank of Persian nobility which consisted of small landholders and warriors who served as lower ranking military commanders, administrators and court bodyguards. Their ethics implied courage, brotherhood and willingly helping the defenseless.¹²⁰Their chivalry included an abstract meaning of spiritual morality and nobility, since they were mostly

¹¹⁶ Josef W. Meri & Jere L. Bacharac (2006), *Medieval Islamic Civilization, An Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, New York, Taylors and Francis Group LLC., p. 153.

 ¹¹⁷ Baldick, Julian (1999), "The Iranian Origin of Futuwwa" Istituto Iniversitario Orientale di Napoli 50 Seminario di Studi Asiatici Ufficio Pubblicazioni a Redazione degli "Annali", pp. 345-346. (*opar.unior.it/824/1/Annali_1990_50_(f4)_J.Baldick.pdf*)
 ¹¹⁸ Zākerī Moheon (1005) "France Least Annali".

¹¹⁸ Zākerī, Mohsen (1995), "From Iran to Islam: Ayyārān and Futūwwah", *Proceeding of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, Rom, pp. 745-57.

¹¹⁹ The last pre-Islamic Persian Empire

¹²⁰ Nicolle, David (1996), *Sasanian Armies: The Iranian Empire early 3rd to mid-7th century AD*, England, Montvert Publ., p. 11; Zākerī, "Javānmardi", p. 2.

horsemen dispersed in *Achaemenid* Empire ¹²¹(c. 550-330 BCE), who should have specific qualities: They must belong to a prominent family with their names registered in an official court, they must be brave and truthful and, most importantly, they must be chivalrous.¹²²

Consequently, through some early western studies, the trace of chivalry is found in Middle Persian commentaries such as *Vandidād* (3: 41). For example, those who thought robbing the rich people and giving to the poor is a praiseworthy action, or *Shāh Nāmeh* (The Book of Kings),¹²³in which the chivalrous character is a kind of spiritual knighthood of *Sasanid* Persian *Zoroastrian*¹²⁴ ideas. Here, Rostam¹²⁵the best known Persian hero is a prototypical chivalric idol, who was prepared to overcome extraordinary obstacles.¹²⁶

In this regard, the likeness of chivalry with the *Mazdak's* (d. 524/1130)¹²⁷social movements, which evolved in thirty years (494- 525 AD) on the basis of chivalry by avoiding falsehood and being kind to people and helping them. And, comparing the specific character of Anatolian chivalry of assisting

¹²¹ The First Persian Empire in Southwest Asia, founded in six century BEC by Cyrus the Great, See: Kuhrt, Amelie (2007), *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*, London, Routledge, Vol. 1, p. 177.

¹²² Zākerī, "Javānmardi", p. 2.

¹²³ It is an enormous poetic opus written by the Persian Poet Ferdowsī around 1000 AD. It tells the mysthical past of Iran from the creation the world until the Islamic conquest of Persia in the 7^{th} century.

^{7&}lt;sup>th</sup> century. ¹²⁴ The Persian religion and philosophy based on the teachings of Zoroaster in some time before the 6th century BCE, See: Urubshurow, Victoria Kennick (2008), *Introducing world Religion*, London, Routledge.

¹²⁵ He is the most famous hero of the Persian epic of Shāh Nāmeh, See: Hillenbrand, Robert (2004), *Shahnama, The visual language of the Persian Book of Kings*, Edinburgh, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

¹²⁶ Deveral, D. George (1977), "Zurkhaneh, The Persian Hosuse of Strength, *Black Belt*, RainBow, p. 56 and Liyod Ridgeon (2008), *Iranian Intellectuals 1997-2007*, New York, Routledge, p. 79.

¹²⁷ Mazdak was a proto-socialist Persian reformer and religious protester who gained influence under the reign of the Sasanian Empire. He claimed to be a prophet of God, and instituted shared possessions and social interest programs, See: Houtsma, M. Th (1987), *E. J. Brill' First Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, Brill, p. 430.

travelers and foreigners, with the emphasis on kindness toward caravans in $Ar\bar{a}d$ *Wirāz Nāmeh*, ¹²⁸ had strengthened the possibility the origin of chivalry must be sought in the ancient Iranian myths, which evolved after Islam and rose as Islamic chivalry in Khurāsān.¹²⁹

It is worthy of mention that these investigation have been based more on the rituals theory, which viewed chivalry as merely an historical phenomena, and would not go further than an analogy between chivalry's rituals and ancient myth. While, there has been less perspective on its association with religious teaching. Undoubtedly, there is enough evidence that the chivalry behavior,¹³⁰which always has been associated with the virtues of courage and generosity existed before Islam. Hātim al-Tā'ī,¹³¹ the Arab symbol of generosity, and the Persian hero Rostam can prove this idea. However, they are fundamental characters of chivalry, but whenever these qualities were influenced by spiritual notion and embraced the hereafter meaning, the concept of chivalry has gone further than historical and ritual phenomena. The association of courage with nobility and generosity with a kind of munificence without any expectation affirms chivalry as perdurable phenomenon, whose personage became as popular moral examples.

¹²⁸ The Book of Ardā Wirāz is a Zoroastrian religious text of Sassanid era in Middle Persian language. It describes the dream-journey of a devout Zoroastrian through the next world. It is believed that Dante inspired from this book to write *Divine Comedy* describing heaven, hell and purgatory, See: Stausberg, Michael, *Zoroastrian ritual in context*, Leiden, Brill, p. 336.

²⁹ Bahār, Mihrdād (2006), pazhūheshī Dar Asātīr Iran, Tehran, Āgāh Publishing, 5th ed. p. 274.

¹³⁰ Qamar-ul Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, p. 25-30.

¹³¹ 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'd Abū Saffāna, the poet, who is traditionally the most finished example of the Pre-Islamic knight, See: Van Arendonk, C. (1986), "Hātim" in: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, Brill, p. 274.

3.2.2 THE RELIGIOUS ORIGIN OF CHIVALRY

On the basis of the view that chivalry is not a temporary historical phenomenon; rather, it is a Divine gift and manner that was offered to the Adam and he was pleased to accept it, its origin goes back to the prophets Adam and Abraham. In other words, chivalry is kindness and mercy of God to humanity and its origin is as wide as humanity.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sulamī (d. 325/937) who allocated an extra treatise about chivalry, God has gifted chivalry to humans on the first day of his creation, and Adam was the first one who accepted it.¹³² In his point of view, chivalry began from the prophet Adam and gradually is testate to later prophets:

"The first to follow the call of chivalry to honor munificence and good conduct was Adam, whose name is fixed in the will of Allah. Adam made chivalry testate to the Prophet Sheeth. He protected it from everything that was improper, then to Noah, who suffered for his devotion to chivalry and thus became illuminated by it... The Prophet Hūd showed the beauty of loyalty to his people with chivalry and Şāliḥ saved himself from evil with the help of chivalry... Afterward, the remaining secrets of chivalry are revealed in the time of Moses, who transmitted it to Aaron and it appeared to Jesus, who shone with purest of the light through it and came to be called the spirit and the Messiah through chivalry and lastly the entire victory was given to the prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h) and the brothers Abū Bakr and Umar and his uncle's son 'Alī become the guardian of chivalry."

Nāşir Siwāsī¹³⁴in his chivalry letter attributed chivalry to Adam and said

in his chivalry letter:

Inevitable, he (Adam) was ordered to descend he came down from the paradise to this world he was crying days and nights for his sin for 360 years he was right to cry so, he received the chivalry in this world.¹³⁵

¹³² Al-Sulamī, Muḥammad Ibn Ḥusyn (1983), *Kitāb al-Futuwwah: The Book of Sufi Chivalry, Lesson To a Son of the Moment*, English Trans. to English by *shaykh* Tosun Bayrak al-Jerrahi al-Halveti, New York, Inner Traditions International, pp. 6-9.

¹³³ *Ibid*, p. 33-34.

¹³⁴ He is the famous Persian poet. He composed his chivalry letter in 1290.

¹³⁵ Nāşīr Sīswāsī, (2006), *Futūwwat Nāmeh Manzūm*, studied by Nīrūmand Karīm, Publ. Farhang Iran Zamīn, Vol. 10, p. 240.

Although, the word *futuwwah* does not appear in the Qur'ān, we encounter its derivative words such as *fatā* (12: 60 – 30; 12), *fatayān* (36: 12), *fityah* (13: 18 – 10: 18 – 61: 59, 18), *fatayāt* (33: 24 – 29: 14) and *fityān* (33: 24 – 29: 4) in the Qur'ān.¹³⁶The lack of use of chivalry's infinitive in the Qur'ān, may be found in lack of application of different forms of verbs and nominate derivatives of chivalry, and its later abstract spiritual conception in the current Arabic literature.

Fatā is used in the Qur'ān, when God wants to refer to the history of Abraham, Joseph and "People of the Cave" ($A \pm h \bar{a} b + i K a h f$). According to chivalry texts, on the basis of Qur'ānic verse (*al-Anbiyā'*, 21:60), Abraham is the first chivalrous person, who stepped to experience the world of chivalry and achieved perfect chivalry in his community. Thus, he is titled as Father of Chivalrous ($Ab\bar{u} al-Fity\bar{a}n$).¹³⁷ The definition of Unity ($tawh\bar{i}d$) is released by him, as God said about him in the Qur'ān: "But only he (will prosper) that brings to God a well sound heart.¹³⁸

On the basis of this view, Kāshānī presents chivalry as manifestation of the inborn nature, in its pureness and delicate qualification, in accordance with development on human beings. The inborn nature (*fitrah*) is a character, which follows its perfect talent,¹³⁹and is necessary for the pure Abrahamic inborn nature. The story of Abraham's chivalry is a presentation of his Unity and a sample of the effect of a chivalrous to change the whole situation of false

 ¹³⁶ Kāshānī Sabziwārī, Husayn (2000), *The Royal Book of Sufi Chivalry (Futūwwat Nameh Sultāni)*, Trans. Jay R. Crook. Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, p. 15.
 ¹³⁷ Giilan, Esthellat (2000), *Walter Construction*, *Construction*, *Constate*, *Construction*, *Construction*, *Construction*, *Const*

¹³⁷ Gülen, Fathullah (2006), *Key Concept in the Practice of Sufism*, Vol. 1, UAS, Light, Inc., p. 81.

¹³⁸ Al- Shu'arā', (26: 89).

¹³⁹ Al-Shu'arā', (26: 89); Abū al-Fadl Maybudī, Rashīd al-Dīn (1993), Kashf al-Asrār wa 'Iddah al-Abrār, Vol 7, Tehran, Amīr Kabīr, 5th ed., p. 115.

worship. He, therefore, became a symbol of rebellion against all evil and the endeavor for sincere servant hood to God.

Abraham sacrificed his son by power of chivalry because of friendship with God, and avoided earthly desires and suffered to combat with imposters and oppressors. He broke the idols and endured any difficulty and hardship; so that his enemies certified his chivalry. That is the reason God has given him the title of *khalīl* (friend of God).¹⁴⁰As Qur'ān said:

They said: Then bring him before the eyes of the people, that they may bear witness.

Abraham is a symbol of chivalry not only because of his challenge to put down the idols, but also his strength to break down the inner idols of self.¹⁴¹He was the first one, who established the base of hospitality and made an oath to not eat alone; thus, he always had guests at dinner.¹⁴²

It is quoted that Abraham attained much fortune late in his life. Gabriel asked God how he could keep true friendship with such fortune. God answered: "Although he possesses many properties, his heart is with me. If you want you can try him". Gabriel came to Abraham and said: "Praise the holy Lord, the Lord of angels and sprits". Abraham said: "I sacrifice my life for my friend, so ask me one more time!" Gabriel asked him: "If you give me one third of your property, I will repeat it again". Abraham did what he wanted. So, Gabriel repeated this holy

¹⁴⁰ *PTIKF*, p. 529; According to *al-Nisā*', (4: 21).

¹⁴¹ Kāshifī Sabziwārī, Muhammad Husayn (2009), *Futuwwat Nameh Sultānī*, studied by Muhammad Jafar Mahjūb, Tehran, Bunyād Farhang Iran, p. 6.

¹⁴² Roger, J. M. (2004), *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, Leiden, Brill, p. 162.

praise, but as Abraham heard it again, he told Gabriel: "Repeat it again and I will give you my entire wealth".¹⁴³

The second chivalrous one recognized by the Qur'ān is the prophet Joseph. His chivalry is manifested in forgiving his brothers. The story of his life depicts that he experienced jealously and hate, cruelty of his brothers, and passion and dishonesty of Zulaykhā, the wife of the king Hykosos Dynasty in Egypt. His chivalry appeared in qualities such as patience, loyalty, nobility, compassion and forgiving his brothers.¹⁴⁴Through these qualities, he could attain the real Unity and overcome all obstacles, as God said:

Those, who keep from evil and endure with fortitude, will never be denied their reward by God.

The *Sūrah Kahf* is the story of a group of young men who wanted pure Unity:

Al-Kahf 18: 13-14

They were young men, who had believed in their Lord, and we led them with guidance, and we strengthened their hearts."¹⁴⁵

They did not worship the idols, but prepared to take refuge in the cave. Thus, they left their home. This story is the first description of chivalry by the Qur'ān, in which the idea of chivalry is raised with specific features. It would be

¹⁴³ *PTIKF*, p.228-229.

¹⁴⁴ Iftikhār, Ahmed Mehar (2003), Al-Islam, USA, al-Islam, p. 76-79.

¹⁴⁵ *Al-Kahf*, (18: 13-14)

later taken as a symbol for chivalry as depicted by a group of young men, rejecting the corrupt authority, devoting and sacrificing to God, leaving home, and enduring danger for the sake of God.

The chivalry, which began when Abraham arrived in the hand of the Prophet, Muhammad (p.b.u.h), so that the God said about Him:

وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَى خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ

Al-Qalam 68: 4

You possess the great mood

According to the Sufi Abu Alī Daqqāq, (d. ca. 405/1015), no one possesses the character trait of chivalry to perfection except the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h); since, on the Day of Resurrection everyone will say "My soul, my soul", but he will say: "My community, my community".¹⁴⁶Therefore, the chivalrous identity was preserved as perfection of ethics in the manner of Muhammad (p.b.u.h).

Chivalry, as a manner of behavior, became an Islamic tradition and practiced after Prophet (p.b.u.h). As it is reported that Abū Bakr came to the prophet with a large sack of all his fortune, at the time the prophet asked for donations. When the prophet asked him why he has not kept something for his family, he answered: "My family is in the care of God and His messenger."¹⁴⁷

Indeed, regarding loyalty, it is quoted during the caliphate of 'Umar, a man committed a murder unintentionally. When the caliphate wanted to punish

¹⁴⁶ Al-Qushayrī (1994), *Al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*, Sharḥ Fārsī by Abū 'Alī Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad 'Othmān, 4th ed., Tehran, Ilmī Farhangī, p. 356 and Sachiko Murata (1992), *The Tao of Islam: A source book of Gender Relationship in Islamic Thought*, New York, Sunny Press, p. 336.

¹⁴⁷ Al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-Futuwwah: The Book of Sufi Chivalry, Lesson to a Son of the Moment*, English Transl. by Shaykh Tosun Bayrak al-Jerrahi al-Halveti, p. 8

⁽archive.org/.../The Book Of Sufi Chivalrykitab Al-futuwwah By Muhammadi)

him according to the law, he asked for three days to go to his village and attend his duty. 'Umar said to him that his request could not be accorded unless somebody takes his place and vouches for his life. Therefore, the man looked to the companions of the prophet, who gathered around the caliph who chose at random and pointed to the Abū Dhar al-Ghifarī and asked him to accept the guarantee. Abū Dhar agreed to replace the man without hesitation. Somebody condemned Abū Dhar because he guaranteed the man, who did not know him. However, the man came back and when he asked why he lost his opportunity to escape, he said: "The man of faith is loyal to his word. Do you think I was going to disappear and make people say, the Muslims do not keep their word anymore?"And when Abū Dhar asked if he may know the man, he answered: "Not at all, but I could not refuse him as it would not have been in keeping the law of generosity. Should I be the one to make people say that there is no more kindness left in Islam?"¹⁴⁸

As we have noticed; chivalry is identified as a manner of behavior in which its principle is being supported by the religious elements. In general, we can conclude that chivalry is defined as the noble morals and treatments, which have warlike qualities that could be deal with two aspects: First, the great seeking of humans to achieve the way of inner salvation through fighting with the inside evils and ,second, its manifestation as human efforts to quest for justice, equality and brotherhood. This battle, generally, has been highlighted whenever a royal or clergymen King were attended. Regarding the latter, the early chivalry before Islam and at the beginning of the Islamic period onward, owed the chivalrous,

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 11-12

which created scenes of courage and warriors. And because of these battles, the chivalrous were registered in the history and remained in the memory of people.

3.3 THE INITIAL RITUALS

The initiation of novice into the chivalry required the performance of specific rituals at specific ceremonies that made him obliged to observe expected manners in order to be formally known as a chivalrous. The people of chivalry gathered in a safe place called *mahfil* and the *shaykh* gave the bowl of water and salt to the novice to drink. The theological significant behind the symbolic of this rites is described by the Sufis. In this regard, Kāshānī quoted that one day a person came to the Prophet (p.b.u.h) and said to him that a man and a woman are alone in the house committing immorality and asked the Prophet (p.b.u.h) to send someone to get them. Thus, some of his companion volunteered to bring them. But the Prophet (p.b.u.h) rejected all of them. Then, 'Alī (a.s) came to the Prophet (p.b.u.h). The Prophet (p.b.u.h) asked him to go to find them. So, 'Alī (a.s) went to the door of the house while closing his eyes walked around spying in the house. Therefore, they could manage to escape. Then, he went out with open eyes and returned to the Prophet (p.b.u.h) and said: "I saw no one at all in that house!" So, the face of the Prophet (p.b.u.h) became indulgent while he knew it with the light of his prophecy what the matter was. He said to 'Alī: "O 'Alī! You are youth (*fatā*) of this community".¹⁴⁹ Then, he asked Salman to prepare for a bowl of water. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) took palm of salt and threw it to the water and said: "This is the legislation (*sharī'ah*)". He, again, took palm of salt and added to the water and said: "This is the spiritual path (tarīqah)". For the third time, he

¹⁴⁹ The similar story is quoted by Suhrawardī in his *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 108-109. See: *Rasāil Jawān Mardān*, Corrected by Murtidā Ṣarrāf (1993), Tehran, Muʿīn Publ., 2th ed.

took palm of salt and put it in to the water and said: "This is the truth (haqīqah)." Afterwards, he gave it to the 'Alī to drink and said: "You are my friend and I am the friend of Gabriel and he is the friend of God. He, indeed, asked Salman to be friend with 'Alī and to drink from the water and asked Hudhayfah al-Yamānī to be friend of Salman and he drank from the bowl in hand of the Prophet (p.b.u.h).¹⁵⁰

This story tells us that by the initiation ritual, the new member should drink from the bowl of the water and salt. Water was the symbol of wisdom and knowledge, which everyone could attain according to his talent and divine inborn self. The appearance of this hidden potential capacity is the origin of real life; since the origin of spiritual life is knowledge like water, which is the origin of material life.¹⁵¹ This ritual is supported by the Our'anic verse:

Al-Anbiyā' 21: 30

We made from water every living thing. Will they not then believe?

The salt is referring to the justice, which is the primitive condition of the inward balance of humans. Through justice the place of legislation and spiritual path and truth will be estimated. The legislation is religious law restoring the balance of relationship between Human and God. The spiritual path is the way of releasing the inborn self of all corruptive desires and lusts, and truth is the perception of Unity through inward and outward knowledge.¹⁵² The usage of water and salt can refer also to the matter that the chivalrous should be pure like

¹⁵⁰ *ATIKF*, p. 557. ¹⁵¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁵² *ATIKF*, p. 531.

water and reserve the right of salt. Qādī Shahāb al-Dīn (1188/1245) told in his book, *Tārīkh Muẓaffarī*, that water depicts the base of life and gives it strength and consistency. It cleans all dirt and impurity and salt is added to water in order to keep it from spoiling and any changes. Eating salt; therefore, shows the chivalry one is stable and endures all difficulties, accompanies his friend in all situations, and is thankful to God.¹⁵³

Another important rite of chivalry initiation is to wear chivalry's trousers. The chivalrous used to wear baggy trousers ($sar\bar{a}w\bar{i}l$) bound by a belt known as *shadd* (knot). This is the most important rite of chivalry initiation. The novice is required to wear $Sar\bar{a}w\bar{i}l$ and then to bend down. The master (*shaykh*) binds the knot on his waist with a knot of material a shawl of silk or wool. There are usually four knots or turns are made in honor of the Gabriel, Muhammad, 'Alī and Salmān. During this time, the initiate is required in the recitation of $S\bar{u}rah$ $F\bar{a}tihah$ and seven greeting in honor of the Prophet (p.b.u.h),¹⁵⁴ other participants are recited prayers at each twist.¹⁵⁵

To wear baggy trousers, is referring to chastity, the necessary step of the path in avoiding lust. The binding belt refers to courage and honor, the essential chivalrous' qualities, which made him always ready to rise to serve to others, and is the sign of a perfect chivalrous one.¹⁵⁶

After binding the knots, the initiate is sometimes shaved and then took his place with his brethren on the carpet of initiation for the traditional meal.¹⁵⁷After

¹⁵³ Kāshifī Sabzewārī, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī, p. 48.

¹⁵⁴ The *shadd* is binding the initiate, whether be Muslim, Christian or Jews to the corporation as a body, brotherhood. By the initiation of non-Muslim, they took a preliminary oath instead of reading Qur'ān, See: Massignon, Lois (1993), "*Shadd*", in: *First Encyclopedia of Islam*: 1913-1936, Leiden, Brill, p. 245.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁶ *ATIKF*, p.558.

¹⁵⁷ Massignon, "Shadd", in: First Encyclopedia of Islam, p. 245.

finishing this ceremony, the novice officially becomes one of the chivalrous and has to follow the chivalry's ethic.

3.4 THE ETHIC OF CHIVALRY

Generally, chivalry's ethic covered the main human value and ethical principles, which later were recognized by Sufism. We mention the most important of them, according to Sufis' chivalry letter:

Loyalty: The chivalrous is a perfect manhood, who keeps the 1. promise and fulfills the covenant. He is true to his covenant with God and friends and never changes his determination.¹⁵⁸He believes that the salvation truly is the entire righteousness and final authority, as mentioned to it and described Ismāil, when He said:

إِنَّهُ كَانَ صَادِقَ الْوَعْدِ

Maryam 19: 54

He was true to what he promised

الْمُوفُونَ بِعَهْدِهِمْ إِذَا عَاهَدُوا

Al-Bagarah 2: 177

To fulfill the contracts which ye have made.¹⁵⁹

2. Generosity: It is the most important quality of chivalry. The stress on this character might be rooted in their reaction against the modesty of rulers. According to Suhrawardī's chivalry letter, he who gives without expectation of

¹⁵⁸ Al-Ahzāb, (3: 23); ATIKF, p. 559.
¹⁵⁹ Sulamī, *The book of Sufi Chivalry Futuwwah*, p. 83-97.

any reward (*karam*) is much more valuable that who gives but wanted to be considered as generous. $(sakh\bar{i})$.¹⁶⁰

3. Nobility: This character of chivalry is to protect the respect of people, in order to not be disgraced at the time of difficulties and situations of lowness. He has sociability with poor and weak believers, and he is strict with rebellious, sinful and powerful unbelievers. It is told about the excellent tolerance of the Prophet (p.b.u.h), that he never blames any food and never turns away with angry word to his employees. Kāshānī told the story of Damdam, who was praised by the Prophet because he said every morning by his prayers: "My God, today I truly believe to my honor to those, who treated me unjustly, so I don't beat who beat me, and I don't abuse who abused me, and I don't oppress, who oppressed me."

4. Courage: To be pure, honest, truthful, and listen to the truth and be satisfied to lose for his friend, to help prisoners and poor people, to prevent the harm of good people by bad people, to not upset someone who was good to him, and to avoid hurting women.¹⁶¹

5. Chastity and purity: The disciple of chivalry was pious persons, so that it is quoted they were so fanatic to preserve their honor and chastity, when their sisters or daughters were falsely accused; they immediately killed them without any investigation or questioning of them.¹⁶²

6. Reputation and popularity: In the early period, the significant motivation of being chivalry one was becoming famous among people; even if

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 96 and Murtidā Şarrāf & Henry Corbin (1973), *Rasāil Jawānmardān*, Tehran, Institut Faransawī Pizhūhish hā-yi 'Ilmī Dar Irān, p. 97.
¹⁶¹ Kāshifī Sabzewārī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulțānī*, p. 201 and 'Unşur al-Ma'ālī, Kaykāwūs Ibn

¹⁶¹ Kāshifī Sabzewārī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī*, p. 201 and 'Unşur al-Ma'ālī, Kaykāwūs Ibn Iskandar (1983), *Qābūs Nāmeh*, corrected by Ghulām Husayn Yūsefī, Tehran, Amir Kabīr, p. 247.
¹⁶² Abū al-Faraj Ibn Jawzī (1989), *Talbis Iblis*, Persian trans. by 'Alī Rezā Erkāwatī, Tehran University, p. 277 and Kāshifī Sabzewārī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī*, p. 198 and Al-Qushayrī, *Al-Risālah*, p. 237.

they had endured the most torture in order to show their strength to people. In this regard, al-Ghazālī said about them that they are people, who are proud of being patient of torment and cutting hands.¹⁶³Naşīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 653/1255) also referred to disciple of chivalry, who can tolerate every persecution to become famous, even if to be lashed or have their hands cut.¹⁶⁴

7. To be fair and to fight with oppression: They tried to be just and kind to people and resisted those who suppressed people.¹⁶⁵

8. Have good mood and benefaction: The chivalry one helped people without any expectation from them and surpassed others in doing a good job.¹⁶⁶It is quoted from Abū Saʿīd al-Khurdī that as he was traveled with the Prophet (p.b.u.h), he felt that none of Muslims had right to extra property; since, the prophet said that whoever has an extra riding should give it to someone who has none and whoever has extra food should give it to those who do not have any.¹⁶⁷

9. Self devotion and sacrificing: They enjoyed their friend's company, so that they were satisfied to lose their rights because of their friend.¹⁶⁸

10. Unpretentious hospitality: The chivalrous take the guest welcome and humbly prepares him whatever he had at home.¹⁶⁹ It is told that Anas was ill and his friend came to visit him. Anas asked his servant to serve the gust

¹⁶³ Al-Ghazālī, Abū Hāmid Muḥammad (2001), *Kīmiyā'-i-Sa'ādat*, Elmī wa Farhangī, 9th ed., Vol. 2, p. 12.

¹⁶⁴ Abū Jafar Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hasan, Naşīr al-DīnTūsī (2000), Akhlāq Nāşirī, Tehran, Iqbāl, p. 126.

¹⁶⁵ Şārrāf, Murtidā (1991), Rasāil Jawān Mardān, Tehran, Mu'īn Publishing, p. 80.

¹⁶⁶ Kāshifī Sabzewārī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī*, p. 199; Sulamī, *The Book of Sufi Chivalry Futuwwah*, p. 80-83 and Al-Qushayrī, *Al-Risāla*, p. 238.

¹⁶⁷ Sulamī, *The Book of Sufi Chivalry Futuwwah*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁸ Āmulī, Sham al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Maḥmūd (2003), *Nafā 'is al-Funūn Fī 'Arāis al-'Uyūn*, Qum, Islāmiyyah publ., p. 82.

⁶⁹ Kāshifī Sabzewārī, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī, p. 12.

whatever they have, even if it is a piece of bread; since, the Prophet said that the generosity is the character of the people of paradise.¹⁷⁰

11. Forgiveness: Although the chivalrous are not afraid of anyone, the beauty of their courage comes to shine more by their forgiveness of people's mistakes or hostility.¹⁷¹It is cited who forgives while he has the power to revenge is forgiven in his turn by God, when he deserve punishment.¹⁷²

12. To preserve secrets: The chivalrous keeps the secrets of his friends. He never reveals the secret of his friends, even if he would be threatened by death or tortured by fire. Even if he is separated from his friend, his secrets remain safe by him.¹⁷³ It is quoted from the prophet (p.b.u.h) if you have these four things, it does not matter if you lose everything else in this world: Protect what is entrusted to you, tell the truth, have a noble character and earn your income lawfully.¹⁷⁴

3.5 THE CHIVALRY HIERARCHY

The chivalrous was divided in different groups, which were called as *hizb* (party) or bayt (house). Bayt was bigger than hizb and sometimes a bayt consisted of several *hizb*. The most famous of them are *Riādhiyyah*, *Shahniyyah*, *Khuldiyyah*, Muslimiyyah and Milā'iyyah.¹⁷⁵ Disciples of different rank of chivalry was supposed to do different tasks as follows:

Jad: It is a spiritual position, like the pole (qutb) by Sufis, that all 1. chivalrous sects are his disciple.

¹⁷⁰ Sulamī, *The Book of Sufi Chivalry Futuwwah*, p. 38.

¹⁷¹ Al-Qushayrī, *Al-Risālah*, p. 237.

¹⁷² Sulamī, The Book of Sufi Chivalry Futuwwah, p. 50; Suhrawardī, 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, Persian

trans., p. 62. ¹⁷³ Al-Qushayrī (2007), *Qushayri 's Epistle on Sufism*, translated by Alexander Kynsh, reviewed by Muhammad Eissa, UK, Garner Publi., p. 242.

Sulamī, The Book of Sufi Chivalry Futuwwah, p. 42.

¹⁷⁵ Afshārī, Mihrān (2003), Futūwwat Nāmeh Hā wa Rasāil Khāksāryyah, Tehran, Pajuhishgāh wa Muțāliāt Farhangi, p. 32.

2. *Kabīr*: He is like spiritual master *pir* and *murshid* by Sufis. He has many disciples and in the converting ritual, he is the one who gives his disciples or sons the bowl of salty water. He is also known as father *pidar, shaykh, muqaddam, qā'id* and *ra's al-hizb*.

3. $Za'\bar{\iota}m$: He is one of the great chivalrous; whose duty is to give advice to disciple of chivalry.

4. *Wakīl*: He sometimes was chosen as *kabīr*'s representative.

5. *Naqīb*: He was chosen by the head of family and was responsible for considering the functions of disciple of chivalry and preparing for their demands.

The chivalrous is free to choose his master but he has to consider five conditions for him: true and good repentance, shunning the earthly interests, devotion to God, sincerity, and follow only one master.¹⁷⁶

3.6 THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHIVALRY

As discussed, the history of chivalry goes back to a distant past. The oldest group of chivalry goes back to the time of *Sasanid* Dynasty in Iran called *Ayyārān* (plural form of *Ayyār*), who used banditry and gave stolen things to the poor people. They sometimes cut a part of their own body to depict their sympathy to the pain and suffering of people.¹⁷⁷They were loyal to their group and never betrayed each other. Helping oppressed people by ruthless rulers was their main task.¹⁷⁸ Ţāhir Dhulyaminīn,¹⁷⁹ Abū Muslim Khurāsānī (d. 1354)¹⁸⁰ and Yaʻqūb Laith al-Ṣaffār (1462-1474)¹⁸¹ belong to this group.

¹⁷⁶ Kāshānī, Abd al-Razzāq (1991), *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*, Studied by Muhammd Dāmādī, Tehran, 'Ilmī Farhangī, p. 230.

¹⁷⁷ Nașīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Akhlāq-e Nāsirī*, p. 126.

¹⁷⁸ Bouhdiba, A., Abdelwahab & al-Dawālibi, M. M^crūf (1998), *The Different Aspects of Islamic Culture: The Individual and Siciety in Islam*, France, Unesco Publishing, p. 227.

Outside of Sasanid empire, there was in Baghdad a group known as $Sa \cdot \bar{a} l\bar{i}k$ (singular: $Sa \cdot l\bar{u}k$), who was called $S\bar{a} luk$ in Persian. They, also like Avyārān, used to rob rich people and believed that this is their right to take their own share from the public fund.¹⁸² The word $S\bar{a}luk$ is frequently used in Persian literature; for example, in *Mathnawī* of Khusraw and Shīrīn of Nizāmī and *The* book of Sindbād, Būstān of Sadī.¹⁸³Sa 'lūk means poor and is also used in Arabic literature as a specific name as it is quoted from Ahmad Ibn Ismāīl Shanfarī that Sa 'lūk was assigned to ruler of Tapūristān.¹⁸⁴ In addition, the author of Lāmyyah al-Arab was one of Sa'ālīk,¹⁸⁵ and according to al-Lisān al-Arab, 'Urwah Ibn al-Ward Ibn Zayd al-'Abasī (d. 30/650) was called 'Urwah al-Sa'ālik or Amīr al-

¹⁷⁹ Tāhir Ibn Husayn knowm as Dhūl Yaminīn (The possessor of two hands) is the famous general of the Abbasid Caliph, Ma'mūn, an Iranian of Arab origin, who was is the first founder of an independent Islamic dynasty in Iran, See: Hareir, Idris & Mbaye, Ravane (2011), The Spread of Islam Throughout the World, France, UNESCO press, Vol. 3, p. 499.

Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Ūthmān Ibn Bashshar Muslim Khurāsānī is one of the key leaders in Abbasid revolution, See: Najeebabadi, Akhbar Shah (2001), History of Islam, Riyadh, Darussalam, Vol. 2, p. 259. ¹⁸¹ The founder of a kingdom that came to be named after him, the Saffarid dynesty, See:

Adamec, Ludwig W. (2009), Historical Dictionary of Islam, 2th ed., United State, Scarecrow, p. 332.

¹⁸² Ibn Isfandyār (1936), *Tārīkh Sīstān*, ed. by Muhammad Taqī Bahār, Tehran, Zawār Publ. 2th ed., p. 224.

¹⁸³ Nazāmī Ganjawī, Khusraw wa Shīrīn, Part of Calling Hakīm Nezāmī by the Kinf Tughrul, edited by Amīn Bābāī Panāh, p.376-383

⁽www.chamanara.net/KhosroVaShirin[ebook.VevO.ir].pdf); Sa'dī. Bustān, 60 p. (www.irane7000saale.com/pdf-Iran-7000/.../SAADI/2-Boostan-Saadi.pdf); Bosworth, Clifford Edmund Bosworth & Osimī, Muhammad (2000), History of CivilizTapation of Central Asia, Delhi, Unesco Press, Vol. 4, Part 2, p. 355; R. R. Bowker Publishing & R. R. Bowker Company (1993), Bowkers Complete Video Dictionary 1999, Mishigan, Bowker Publishing, Vol., 1, p. 27; Mashhadī, M. A., Abbāsī, A. W & Ārifī (2014), "Rūykard Tahlilī bi 'Anāşur Dāstānī Sinbād Nāmeh", in: Matn Shināsī Adab Fārsī, Işfahān, University of Işfahān, No: 1 & 21, p. 61-76; Nizāmī Ganjawī (2006), Khusraw wa Shīrīn, Studied by Wahīd Dastjerdī, Tehran, Nashr-e-Qatreh Publ., 6th ed., p. 149, 363; Sa'dī Shīrāzī (2002), Būstān, studied by Ghulām Husayn Yūsefī, Eng. Trans., 2th ed., Tehran, Khawrazmī and Sa'dī Shīrazī (2006), The Bustan of Sa'di, Adam Publishing, ch. 2: In benefaction & ch. 8: In bless God for giving healthy.

¹⁸⁴ Nafīsī, Sa'īd, Ash 'ār Rūdakī, Tehran, Ibn Sīnā, p. 379. Țapūristān is the north province of Iran, the native inhabitants of the reign before the migration of Aryan, which turns to Tabristan in the early Islamic century and then to the present Mazandaran, See: Zonn, I. S. (2010), The Caspian Sea Encyclopedia, Berlin, Springer, p. 394.

¹⁸⁵ Dilshād, Jafar & Jafar Ābādī, Kāẓim (2014), "Al-qīyam al-Akhlāqiyyah Lil Shanfarī Fī Lāmiyyah al-Arab, in: Buhūth Fī al-Lughah al- 'Arabiyyah wa Ādābihā, Işfahān, Jāmi'ah Işfahān Publi., No: 8, p. 81-94.

 $Sa \, a \, a \, l \bar{l} k$.¹⁸⁶ It seems that Arab's $Sa \, l \bar{l} k$ divided in two groups: A group of them was under the command of rulers like 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sahl (d. 548/1153) in Saljuk dynasty,¹⁸⁷who was assigned to rule over Bam at the time of the King Bahrām. The other group consisted of poor people like 'Urwah Ibn Abasī. *Sa 'ālik*, generally, was a group of disciple of chivalry, whose number in ninth and tenth century was a thousand people, distributed around all Islamic lands.¹⁸⁸

Chivalry in Baghdad was known as *Shāțir*. According to Kāmil al-Shaybī, chivalry was formed in Kūfa in eight century and later came to Baghdad. Those chivalrous wore yellow robes and Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd Nakha'ī (d. 95/714) was one of their *shaykh*.¹⁸⁹They sometimes, like other groups of chivalrous, robbed caravans. Ibn Athīr quoted from some of their turbulence and breaking law in the city: When Ṭāhir Dhulyaminīn (d. 207/822) attacked Baghdad to defend Ma'mūn and ousted Amīn from the kingdom, the Baghdad's chivalrous made chaos, robbed the city and sometimes fought with Ṭāhir's soldiers to protect Amīn.¹⁹⁰

It seems that the early chivalrous before the twelfth century, appeared as trouble-makers, ready to break down the authority. They were an uncontrollable faction who conducted disorderly public behavior and disrupted state business.¹⁹¹One of these groups was *Ahdāth* (youth), which rose in Syria. They

¹⁸⁶ Meisami, J. & Starkey, P. (1998), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Litrature*, Vol. 2, New York, Taylors and Francis, p. 796.

¹⁸⁷ Seljuk was a Turkish Sunni Muslim dynasty that gradually contributed to the Turkish-Persian tradition in the medieval West and Central Asia.

¹⁸⁸ Bonner, Michael David, Ener, Mine & Singer, Amy (2003), *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, State University of New York Press, p. 26 and Al-Tabarī (1985), *History of At-Tabarī: Abbasid Revolution*, English Trans. By John Alden Willams, State University of New York, Vol.27, p. 189

¹⁸⁹ Kāmil Mustafā Shaybī (1969), *Al-Ṣilah Bayn al-Taṣawwūf wa al-Tashayyu*", Tehran University Publishing, p. 195-196.

¹⁹⁰ Upham Pope, Arthur & Ackerman, Phyllis (1964), A Survey of Persian Art, from Prehistoric Times to the Present, Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, p. 83; Elton, L. Daniel (2012), The History of Iran, 2th ed., California, ABC-CLIO, p. 79.

¹⁹¹ Qamar al-Hudā, *Striving for Divine Union*, p. 22-25.

had power over election and disposal of rulers.¹⁹² In 1185 century, the *Nabawyyah* group, one of *Ahdāth*'s parties, fought with Syrian *Bāținiyyah* and defeated them.¹⁹³ Unlike them, there was a group of chivalry who were followers of Fatimid in Egypt, of which Abd al-Qādir Hāshimī was one of their *shaykh*, who possessed the title of "Author of Chivalry".¹⁹⁴

At this point, chivalry entered a new era and all local chivalry with different titles named themselves chivalrous. From this time onward, we encounter the use of the term *futuwwah* and their manner in Islamic literature. Many chivalrous were absorbed in public administration and in policing function, but with the decline of Saljuk dynasty, they reemerged as an unstable and disruptive element in the urban centers of Iraq and Persia, who fiercely competed to gain authority.

At this time, chivalry was reformed and rebuilt as an aristocratic chivalry by Abbasid Caliph Nāsir Li Dīn Allāh (d. 553/1158).¹⁹⁵ Nāşir was aware of European interest in the Mediterranean lands and North of Africa, and the Islamic borders are threatened by Rum. On the other hand, in Iran, Seljuk was planning to conquer Baghdad.¹⁹⁶ Hence, Nāşir, instead of objecting chivalry, joined chivalry two years after becoming caliph, and constituted an official chivalry. He extended and consolidated his influence among people by bringing all groups of chivalrous under his control, and banned all other groups except the official chivalry. His action had a dual connotative target: First, to unify Islamic lands, however temporary, at the time that religious, political and racial conflict was at its

¹⁹² Aflākī, Shams al-Dīn (1987), *Manāqib al-Ārifīn*, Tehran, Khāneh Kitāb, Vol. 2, p. 758.

¹⁹³ Afshārī, Futuwwat Nāmeh hā wa Rasāil Khāksaiyyah, p. 25.

¹⁹⁴ Gripp, H. A. R. (1962), *Travels of Ibn Battūta*, *1325-1354*, Trans. H.A. R. Gipp, Cambridge University Press, Vol.1, p. 315.

¹⁹⁵ Abū al-Abbās al-Nāşīr Li Dīn Allāh Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan al-Mustadirī

¹⁹⁶ Ohlander, Erik S. (2006), "Chivalry", in: Josef W. Meri, Jere L. Bacharach, *Medieval Islamic Civilization: A-K, Index*, Vol. 1, United State, Taylor & Fransic, p. 153.

culmination in Islamic lands. And, second, to rescue the Abbasid Caliphate from threatened hostile invention.¹⁹⁷ He took chivalry's robe by the *shaykh* Mālik Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Ḥanbalī (d. 583/1187), and gave him and his child some gifts, and officially established Nāşirī's chivalry. Thereafter, all groups of chivalry in Baghdād joined him. In addition, he encouraged the lords to bond chivalry and institutionalize it in their reign. The lords included: Asāmih Abū Muẓaffar Shāmī and al-Malik al-'Ādil Ayyūbī in Syria, and Sultān Ṣaladin Ayyūbī.¹⁹⁸ Sultān 'Aziz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs (607/1210-616/1219), the king of Rum. The king of Rum received chivalry's robe and institutionalized chivalry in his country. Chivalry remained even three centuries after his death and is approximated with the cavalier ethics of medieval Europe.¹⁹⁹

Nāşir's policy reflected in Asia Minor; however, the Anatolia became an important center for chivalry. Nāşir declared himself as the central authority for chivalry and later set forth the code of behavior for chivalrous, declaring that God designated him as having sole responsibility to maintain legislation (*sharī 'ah*).²⁰⁰ This typical standard rule embodied the Nāşirī's conduct and ritual known as aristocratic chivalry. The hierarchical structure and ceremonies of initiation of Nāşirī chivalry, was described in the chivalry letter of Ibn Mi'mār Baghdādī (d. 642/1244).

The association of Nāşir with chivalry was one of the greatest events in the history of chivalry. The rapid growth of chivalry's community in the twelfth and

¹⁹⁷ Fawzī, Farūq 'Umar (1998), *Al-Khilāfah al- 'Abbasiyyah*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, pp. 42-60 and Kqshifī Sabsiwārī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh Sultānī*, p. 61.

¹⁹⁸ Mahjūb, Introduction of *Futūwwat Nāmeh Sultānī*, p. 83-84.

¹⁹⁹ Ja'farī, Sayyid Naqīb Husain & Muzzamil, Seyed Hasan (2010), *Essays on Literature, History & Society*, Delhi, Primus Books, p. 19 and Guy le Strange (2011), *Baghdad: During the Abbasid Caliphate*, New York, Cosimo Inc., p. 270-4.

²⁰⁰ Musa, Matti (1987), *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat sects*, United State, Syracuse University Publishing, p. 170-2 and Hodgoson, marshal G. S (2009), *The venture of Islam, Vol. 2: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Period*, University of Chicago Press, p. 280-4.

thirteenth century was beholden on absorbing the idea of chivalry by Sufi orders.²⁰¹ In this regard, Abū Hafş 'Umar Suhrawardī, played a great role in the convergence of popular chivalry with Sufism.²⁰² In twelfth century, when Ibn Battūta visited Asia Minor, the Anatolian chivalrous known as $Akh\bar{i}$ (brother), must have been dispersed widely among every city and village of that country. He speaks greatly of the noble behaviors of $Akh\bar{i}s$, of their hospitality and supports the strangers: "Chivalrous are unique in provision of hospitality to strangers, community service and charity in whole world. Every group of them has their own convert equipped with carpet, light and other accessories; I have never seen better people than them in the world".²⁰³They had equipped places for welcoming travelers. They gave their wage to his master in order to invest for visitors.²⁰⁴ Ibn Battūta states that the $Akh\bar{i}$ was also called chivalrous and that nowhere in the world could you find people who could match their chivalry.²⁰⁵

There is evidence that some of chivalrous in Iran became followers of the Sufi order *shaykh* Şafī al-Dīn, ancestor of *Şafawid* King. The follower of *Şafawid* in Iran and Anatolia came to be known as *Qizilbāsh* (redheads). Those in Anatolia may have been the groups who joined King Ismail in his struggle against Othmans.²⁰⁶

The political institutionalizing of chivalry, in general, with the excuse to organize their activities and establish security around the Islamic lands, gave

²⁰¹ Peacock, Andrew & Yildiz, Sara Nur (2013), *The Seljuks of Anatolia Court and Sociert in the Medieval Middle East*, London, Tauris & Co. Ltd., p. 203.

²⁰² Qamar ul-Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, p. 184.

²⁰³ Ibn Battūta, Al-Rihlah, Vol. 1, p. 348.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 315.

²⁰⁵ Matti, Mossa (1988), *Extremist Shiite: The Ghulat Sects* Moosa, New York, Syracuse University Press, p. 171.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 172.

Nāșir to struggle with the murders and plunders caused by some deviated groups of chivalrous.²⁰⁷

After Nāşir, and the end of Abbasid caliphate by Hulagu Khan in 655/1251, the official chivalry was ended in Iraq, but remained in the Roman Seljuk for three centuries, and it continued in Iran and Egypt. Later, in the *Şafawid* period, a group of chivalry appeared as *Pahlawānān* (heroes), whose dominant feature was their physical power and proficiency in fighting. Their ethics and manner is preserved and practiced in *Zūrkhānih* in Iran until today. This kind of chivalry presents the idea of Islamic masculinity as courage, strength, honesty and generosity. They also were known as *Mufrad, Yatīm, Bābā, Bahādur*.²⁰⁸

It is remarkable that the degenerating of Abbasid caliph was only the end of the Aristocratic chivalry; yet the spirit of chivalry still remained among people and appeared effectively in three dimensions of their life. The center of such activities mostly was in the East of Islamic lands, especially in Iran more than other areas, and it was popularized among people.²⁰⁹

3.6.1. APPEARANCE OF SEMI RELIGIOUS BONDS IN TRADES-

CRAFTSMEN ASSOCIATION

Chivalry gave the different guilds existing in the cities of Islamic Orient from three centuries onward, but probably did not link to religion, an inner spiritual meaning, so that their works was supported by religious base.²¹⁰ Hence, the moral and symbolic rituals particular to each guild were written in a chivalry letter, such

²⁰⁷ Ibd, p. 315.

²⁰⁸ Ibn Mi'mār Hanbalī (1960), *al-Futuwwah*, Introduction by Muştafā Jawād, Baghdad, p. 5-6; Afshārī, *Futūwwat wa Aşnāf*, p. 23 and Flaskerud, Ingvild (2010), *Visualizing Belief and Piety in Iranian Shiism*, London, Continuum International Publishing, p. 44-48.

²⁰⁹ Zākerī, *Sasanid Solider*, p. 308.

²¹⁰ Meri, *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, p. 153.

as the chivalry letter of shoemakers or the chivalry letter of weavers. They consist of a set of simple practical teaching, depending on the occupations of the guilds for which they were composed.²¹¹ The most prominent guild's chivalry letters that clearly explains the guilds and chivalry's connection is the chivalry letter of textiles. According to this letter, the seal of guild of weavers is Jafar Şādiq, who learned this craft for the first time from Gabriel and then taught others.²¹² In the textile guild, the whole stages of textile processing is done by reading Qur'ān and praying, so that entire activities is accompanied with the ethical and spiritual aspects. Thus, the textile is not considered an earthly job and it is not licensed without cognition of its spiritual aspects.²¹³

Such chivalry letters present the importance of the role of master to teach crafts and to transmit the hidden spiritual spirit of chivalry within the craft. It is to mention that chivalry not only rejoined the individual members within the guilds, but also made a connection between other association of guilds and trades.²¹⁴

Consequently, through association of the guilds with chivalry, we see the development of profession and crafts with a system of teaching, learning, and apprenticeship and, finally, the extent of nobility, which was depended on the degree of service to the society.²¹⁵The main inference of rising chivalry guilds was building a sacred face of the crafts and services, and connected them to heaven; in order to show the importance of those crafts and to gain more respect from the workers. Thus, by the use of a job's instruments, they edified the names

²¹¹ Fluidity & leverage (2004), *Guilds Dynamics in Seventeenth Century Istanbul*, Leiden, Brill, p. 8.

p. 8. ²¹² Afshārī, Mihrān (2002), *Chāhārdah Risalah dar Bāb-i Futuwwat wa Aşnāf*, Tehran, Nashr Cheshmeh, p. 11-25.

²¹³ *Ibid*, p. 15.

²¹⁴ Lucassen, Jan, De Moor, Tine & Luiten van Zanden, Jan (2008), *The Return of Guilds*, New York, University of Cambridge press, pp. 76-78.

²¹⁵ Tauris, I. B. (2002), *Money, Land and Trade: An Economic History of the Muslim Mediteranean*, ed. Nelly Hanna, London, I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, p. 158.

of God by memorization and recitation (*zikr*). According to the chivalry letter, the origin of these crafts was affiliated to the prophets and they were chosen to be patron of the guild.²¹⁶ For example, the prophet Noha is patron of carpenters because he built a ship, Abraham of butchers because he rose to sacrify his son, Jesus of the deceased because of his sacrifice, and Salmān Fārsī of stylists because he cut the hair of Holy Prophet.²¹⁷The helpful information can be found in *Qābūs Nāmeh* of 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī Kaykāwus Ibn Iskandar.²¹⁸

3.6.2 APPEARANCE OF CHIVALRY IN THE SPORADIC ARMED APPEALING MOVEMENTS

After the end of Abbasid caliphate through Mongols, chivalry was demonstrated as popular, appealing to groups to fight with fiscal exaction of the Mongols; in order to change the society. An example of this is the uprising of *Sarbedārān*, who rose against Mongols in the thirteenth century in Iran, under the command of heroes from Bāshtīn, Amir Abd al-Razzāq. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa described him as a man of the type known in Iraq as *Shuṭṭār* and in Maghrib as *Soqura*.²¹⁹This kind of chivalry in form of *Sarbedārān* is also identified by some modern scholars like Ilya P. Petrushevsky as a type of popular redevelopment.²²⁰

²¹⁶ See chivalry letters of fourteen different guilds collected by Mihrān Afshārī in *Chāhārdah Risalah dar Bāb-i Futuwwat wa Aṣnāf.*

²¹⁷ Andrea L. Stanton, Edward Ramsamy, Peter J. Seybolt, Carolyn M. Elliott (2012), *Cultural Sociology of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa: An Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, United State, SAGE Publications, p. 190.

²¹⁸ 'Unșur al-Ma'ālī, Kaykāwus Ibn Iskandar (1383), *Qābūs Nāmeh*, edited by Ghulām Husayn Yūsefī, Tehran, Ilmī wa Farhangī, pp. 372, 376, 464, 468, 475, 555, 585.

²¹⁹ Ibn Battūta (1960), *al-Rehla*, Beirut, Dār Sār, p. 383.

²²⁰ Petrushevsky, Ilya (1985), *Islam in Iran*, Trans. Hubert Evans, State University of New York, Albany, pp. 304-309).

3.6.3 APPEARANCE OF SUFI CHIVALRY (SPIRITUAL CHIVALRY)

Chivalry as moral perfection, was in close relation to Sufism with early Sufi, like Hasan Başrī (d. 110/728), who was known as the master of chivalry (*sayyid of al-fityān*). This meeting is getting more highlighted in ancient Iranian-Anatolia with their archaic tradition, where chivalry was absorbed by Sufism. Some great Sufis were even known as a chivalrous before they became a Sufi, like Aḥmad Khazrawiyyah Balkhī (d. 240/854), Abū Ḥafs 'Umar Ibn Ḥaddād Nayshābūrī (d. 265/879), 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Pūshangī (d. 348/959), *shaykh* Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 616/1219), 'Alā al-Dawlah Simnānī (d. 736/1335), *shaykh* Ḥasan Jawrī (d. 743/1342) and sayyid 'Alī Hamidānī (d. 786/1385).

This relation was so close that chivalry has being considered as one of Sufi's aspect. Consequently, parallel to the prevalence of Sufism on one hand, and on the other hand the increase of rapprochement of people with Sufism, brought Sufis to establish ethics regulation and to write chivalry letters, whose direction was practical and executive for all kinds of people. Their practical teaching to refine the soul was not difficult as Sufi's path; since, the Sufi chivalrous like Sufis did not have to leave their family and jobs in order to live in the convent; rather, he could maintain his normal life and profession, while he practiced the path of chivalry. In fact, the teaching of Sufi chivalry reflected the renewal of the motivation of people, in order to consider special principles in different dimension of life. Thus, along with the spread of Sufism, chivalry was popularized among people.²²¹ While Sufism belonged to the special people, chivalry mostly dealt with ordinary people.²²²

²²¹ The importance of eleventh and twelfth century in the history of Sufism is not covered by any scholars, as the establishment of organized Sufi orders with their genealogy and systematization of convents as an official social institution. Furthermore, Sufism was supported by some of

However, the prominent point of the teaching of chivalry appeared in its principles which concerned the behavior and commitments of the chivalrous to society. Therefore, the association of chivalry with Sufism brought the social moral qualities of Islam more in to the light, indeed, it gave to Sufism new dimensions.

One of the central topics of this teaching was humility, by definition to see himself lower than everybody, while his concern is to be at service for others, especially the poor and oppressed people.²²³ With respect of this quality comparing to *Malāmatiyyah*, with its doctrine on the basis of the negation of an ethic's system, in which it is recommended to avoid presenting virtues, some scholars developed the idea that chivalry's teaching is more appropriate to *Malāmatiyyah* teaching.^{224,} Aṭṭār Nayshabūrī (d. 618/1221)²²⁵ mentioned to the dialog of Ḥamdūn Qaṣṣār, the founder of *Malāmatiyyah*, in his *Tadhkirah al-Awliyā*' with the 'Ayyār Nayshaūrī about the secrets of chivalry.²²⁶

Abbasid Caliphs like Nāşir Li Dīn Allāh, as he adapted Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī as his representative. Even more, after invasion of Turkish tribes to Islamic lands, Sufism was protected by some of the Saljuk minister like Nizām al-Mulk Ṭūsī, who built many convents. The Sufi's influences were so much that In the west of Islamic lands, governors like Salāh al-Dīn Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193) and his children, also supported the building of convents. See: Negendra, Singh (2004), *Encyclopedia Historiography of the Muslim World*, edited by NK. Singh, New Delhi, Global vision publishing House, p. 367; Qamar-ul Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, p. 32; Duiker, W. J. & Spielvogel, J. (2012), *The Essential World History*, 7th ed., USA, Cengage Learning, p. 178 and Lewisohn, Leonard (1993), *Classical Persian Sufism: from its Origin to Rumi*, Michigan, Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publication, p. 158.

Qamar-ul Huda, Striving for Divine Union, p. 31and Black, Antony (2011), The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present, Edinburgh University Press, p. 228..
 Al-Qushayrī, Al-Risālah, p. 103-4.

²²⁴ See Comparing of *The Book al-Futuwwah* of al-Qushayrī with *al-Risālah al- Malāmatiyyah* of Sulamī in: 'Afifī, Abū al-'Alā' (2007), *Malāmatiyyah, Şūfiyyah wa Futuwwat*, Persian Trans. Nuşrat Allāh Furūhar, Tehran, Payām, pp. 45-50.
²²⁵ Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭar Nayshabūrī was a Persian poet, theoretician of Sufism, and hagiographer

²²⁵ Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭar Nayshabūrī was a Persian poet, theoretician of Sufism, and hagiographer from Nishapur.

²²⁶ Abū Hāmid Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ishāq 'Attār Kadkanī Nayshābūrī, *Tadhkirah al-Awliyā*', p. 401-402. (*www.sufism.ir/books/download/farsi/attar/tazkera_olia.pdf*).

It is quoted that Hamdūn Qassār²²⁷ (d. 271/884) asked a robber chivalrous, 'Ayyār Nayshābūrī about the meaning of chivalry. 'Ayyār answered him: "My chivalry is to take of what I wore now and to put on the robe of Sufi and act in the way it is suited the way of Sufi and to not commit sin because I shay the people; however, your chivalry is to take of your robe and be careful that the people's attention caused no deceipt and indeed the people are not deceived from your appearance. So, my chivalry is to follow the outward *sharī* 'ah and your chivalry is to follow the inward the path of truth.²²⁸

One of Malāmatiyyah principles is that the Malāmatī avoid showing off something that he does not really believe in his inside. He avoids looking for people's faults and, in contrast, his effort is to find his own faults. Qushayrī also quoted that when a Malāmatī was asked about the chivalry, he answered: "The chivalrous is someone, who possesses the repentance of Adam, the strength of Noha, the loyalty of Abraham, the truth of Ismail, the serenity of Moses, the patient of Ayyūb, the cry of David and the generosity of Muhammad, kindness of Abū Bakr, the manliness of 'Umar, the chastity of 'Uthmān and the knowledge of 'Alī. After he attains all these qualities, he must always look to his faults and defects and consider the dominance of others.²²⁹

In general, chivalry was recognized by Islamic scholars and jurisprudences. In this regard, the chivalry letter of al-Ghazalī was recognized as a valid form of chivalry in Islamic societies. Some Sufi authors, like Najm al-Dīn Zarkūb (d. 712/1312), defined chivalry very close to Sufism: "Chivalry is spending your

²²⁷ He is the founder of the Malamtiyyah school in nine centuy.

²²⁸ Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn 'Alī Jalābī Hujwīrī, Kashaf al-Mahjūb, p.113. (www.sufi.ir/books/download/farsi/hojviri/kashfol-mahjoob.pdf).

Al-Qushayrī, Al-Risālah, p. 103.

time to worship God, to comfort people and to preserve God's word and tradition of His prophet and talking to people of God".²³⁰

As stated before, chivalry was a prominent quality of human's culture among ordinary people and it is also approved as a value feature of Prophets by the Qur'ān. The fourteenth century is the semantic and rational boom of chivalry through its association with Sufism. In this respect, chivalry was identified with the religious roots and was evaluated and purified by Sufis. According to this concept, the peak of human's perfection, which was included in qualities as courage, generosity and forgivness evaluated to a set of moral ethics. Moreover, the inner meaning of chivalry was defined by Sufi chivalrous as liberation of all inward and outward desires and achievement the stage of heart, which is the stage of youth.²³¹

Related to Sufis, there are three approaches of chivalry: first, the encounter of man with himself. In this regard, chivalry is defined as an inner battle of soul against evil and egoism, that its highest rank is manifested as despising himself against others. As Jafar Khuldī said: "Chivalry is to despise yourself and respect others".²³²In respect of this concept, we observe that the quality of the good reputation of chivalrous, which was very important, has been changed to humility after chivalry became one of a subset of Sufism. It is quoted that one day Abū Hafş Umar Nayshābūrī went to Baghdad. Some Sufis asked him about the meaning of chivalry. He asked Junayd to answer it. Junayd answered: "A chivalrous one does not see and refer to his chivalric and what has he done".²³³Junayd's words might have been a reaction to the chivalrous desire of

²³⁰ Afshārī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh hā wa Rasāil Khāksaiyyah*, p. 178.

²³¹ ATIKF, p. 526-7.

²³² 'Aţţār Nayshābūrī, *Tadhkirah al-Awliyā*', p. 327.

²³³ Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, p. 154 and 'Attār Nayshābūrī, Tadhkirah al-Awliyā', p. 394.

reputation. The Sufi's modesty, which Junayd spoke about, was replaced with quality of reputation in chivalry. In this relation, Qushayrī said that chivalry means when you don't consider yourself superior to others.²³⁴

The second approach is the action of chivalry towards people. According to chivalry letters, chivalry is appearance of the pure heart.²³⁵ This battle is continued until it will be reflected in man's deed as preferring the needs of other to his own request and being always ready to assist others and forgiveness of their mistakes. According to Qushayrī, chivalry is continuous effort to meet the needs of people.²³⁶And Junayd Baghdādī defined chivalry as assisting people and giving their own property.²³⁷ Third, chivalry is identified as devotion to God. Sahl Ibn 'Abd Allāh Tustarī defined it as following Islamic tradition (*Sunna*).²³⁸Ḥasan Başrī said that chivalrous is one, who is identified by his actions and not his words.²³⁹

However, the mile stone of the conceptual development of chivalry can be found by Suhrawardī. He, officially, identifies chivalry as Sub-Sufism and considered it as the core of the spiritual path (*tarīqah*) with particular qualities, which has to be attain by disciple of chivalry by the following the master (*shaykh*).²⁴⁰After Suhrawardī, chivalry has been integrated with the different School of thought and the inner meaning of chivalry has been expressed through beautiful and delicate mystical conception of Sufism.

²³⁴ Al-Qushayrī, *Al-Risālah*, p. 356.

²³⁵ Būstān Sa'dī, p. 82.

²³⁶ Al-Qushayrī, *Al-Risālah*, p. 355.

²³⁷ 'Aţţār Nayshābūrī, *Tadhkirah al-Awliyā*', p. 445.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 319.

²³⁹ Hākemī, Ismāīl (2003), A'īn Futūwwat wa Jawānmardī, Tehran, Asāțir, p. 185.

²⁴⁰ Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh* in: *Rasāil Jawān Mardān*, Corrected by Murtidā Ṣarrāf (1993), Tehran, Muʿīn Publ., 2th ed. p. 93-166.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented that chivalry, before Islam, was applied as a noble character by people who shared the same style of characters as generosity, bravery and altruism. However, after Islam, its principles developed and supported by the religious elements. Abraham, People of the Cave ($Ash\bar{a}b-iKahf$) and Joseph became the symbol of chivalrous character as pure Unity, rejecting the corrupt authority, and forgiveness for the sake of God. The ultimate of chivalry's character can be seen in Prophet (p.b.u.h), who is the symbol of great mood and ethic.

According to the history of chivalry after Islam, this chapter presented different chivalry groups who were distributed in the Islamic lands as Ayyārān in Sasanid period, Sa'ālīk and Shātir in Baghdad, Ahdāth in Syria. They, mostly, were banditry, which main intention was to help oppressed people. They were loyal to their group and followed their rules and rituals. Yet, in thirteenth century by Abbasid caliph al-Nāşir, these sporadic groups reformed and became a united organized aristocratic chivalry called Akhī. Chivalry officially became one of Sub-Sufism with initial rituals. Many chivalrous were absorbed in public administration and in policing function. The degenerating of Abbasid caliph led to end the aristocratic chivalry, while chivalry remained among people and affected three dimensions of people's life. First, it affected their works, as chivalry appeared as a system of teaching, learning, apprenticeship of different crafts, in which the extent of chivalry was depended on the degree of service to the society. Second, it affected the social life by appearance the appealing movement against oppression of rulers. Third, it affected the individual's life as it transformed to a subset of Sufism with simple structures.

Therefore, parallel to the prevalence of Sufism, chivalry raised and Sufis wrote many chivalry letters in order to establish ethics regulation of chivalry, which can be applied by all kinds of people. With respect of this, chivalry was identified with the religious roots and was evaluated and purified by Sufis. Thus, the chivalry's character, which was constructed of courage, generosity and forgiveness developed to a set of moral ethics. Moreover, the inner meaning of chivalry was defined by Sufi chivalrous as liberation of all inward and outward desires and achievement the stage of heart, which is the stage of youth. this respect, by referring to Sufi's words, it is depicted how the notion of chivalry is purified and developed through its integration with Sufism and how Sufis brought the social moral qualities of Islam more in the light by spiritual chivalry.

However, the mile stone of the conceptual development of chivalry can be found by Suhrawardī. He, officially, identifies chivalry as Sub-Sufism and considered it as the core of the spiritual path (*tarīqah*) with particular qualities, which has to be attain by disciple of chivalry by the following the master (*shaykh*).²⁴¹After Suhrawardī, chivalry has been integrated with the different School of thought and the inner meaning of chivalry has been expressed through beautiful and delicate mystical conception of Sufism.

The chivalry letter of 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī is the ultimate development of the notion of chivalry as it is grounded on the School of *wahdah al- Wujūd* with theory and practical approach. The final development of notion of chivalry can be finding in chivalry letter of Waiz Kāshifī Sabzewarī in sixteenth century, as chivalry transformed to the little Sufism.

²⁴¹ Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh* in: *Rasāil Jawān Mardān*, Corrected by Murtidā Ṣarrāf (1993), Tehran, Mu'īn Publ., 2th ed. p. 93-166.

CHAPTER 4

THE TREATISE ON CHIVALRY (*FUTUWWAH*) *TUḤFAH AL-IKHWĀN FĪ KHAṢĀIṢ AL-FITYĀN*

4.0 INTRODUCTION

As chivalry letters are valuable collections for historic investigation, and encompass spiritual nature; this chapter, therefore, before discussing *Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiş al-Fityān*, will display a brief outline of types of chivalry letters. In this regard, it should be noted that chivalry letter are written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Most of them, however, are in Persian; since, historical documents recorded that at the beginning of writing chivalry letter, their activities were placed generally in Iran.²⁴²In this regard, as the researcher is not familiar with the Turkish language, the following explanation contains only chivalry letter, which are in Arabic and Persian or even those, which are translated into these languages.

After the type of *Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān* is estimated, this chapter will demonstrate the necessary data about the title, editions and the design of the division and partition the text. And, the end of this chapter will depict the outline of the base theme discussed by the author.

4.1 TYPES OF CHIVALRY LETTER (CL)

Sufis gradually began to write about chivalry from eleventh century and allocated a part of their treatises to chivalry. Thus, despite they contain valuable information about chivalry, but they are not known as CL. They focus on the ideas and morality that was promoted by the chivalrous in order to depict that chivalry is not in conflict with Islamic teachings, rather it complements them.

For example, we can mention to 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin Qushayrī (d. 465/11073). Despite the fact he did not write an independent CL, he assigned

²⁴² The territory of old Iran includes Iraq and Syria, See: Nasr, Seyyed Hossein (1991), *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestation*, New York, Crossroad, p. 306-7.

chapter thirty-four of his work, *al-Risālah*, to the chivalry.²⁴³ Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) also allocated a part of the Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din to the love and brothethood.²⁴⁴Another source is *Qābūs Nāmeh*²⁴⁵ of 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī Kaykāwūs Ibn Iskandar Ibn Qābūs (d. 475/1082).²⁴⁶ The author dedicated chapter forty four of his book to chivalry and wrote that the basis of chivalry is three actions: To do what you say, to tell the truth and to have patience".²⁴⁷

However, particular treatises calling CL began to develop from twelfth century. They are known in Arabic as Kitāb al-Futuwwah, in Persian as Fututwwat-Nāmeh, and in Turkish as Fütüvvet-Nāmeh. The chivalry letters can be categorizing in two groups:

1. Spiritual Chivalry Letter (SCL)

The SCL, usually written by Sufis, reside a diffuse space of ethics. They have ascetic characteristic and repeatedly talk about fighting with the lusts, while they stress on an ascetic mixed with sociability, and benefit to people. This form of ascetic mixed with sociability can be observed in all CL as a common principle, which clearly is in contrast to the early Sufi's figures with their rough piety and isolation. Although the history of chivalry is tied with fighting injustice and cruel rulers, there is not a direct approach to this subject in the CL; rather, the center of attention in the CL focuses on inside purification. That is the remarkable point for

²⁴³ Al-Qushayrī, 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin (1999), Al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah Fī 'Ilm al-Taşawwuf, Beirut, Dāral-Iihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, English Trans., Alexander D. knish & Reviewed by Muhammad Eissa (2007), al- Qushayris Epistle on Sufism, UK, Garnet Publ, German Trans., Richard Granlich (1989), Das Sendschreiben Qushayris, Stuttgart, Richard Granlich, F. Steiner Verlag.

²⁴⁴ Al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, English trans. By Fazl-ul-Karam, Karachi, Darul Ishaat, Vol. 2, pp. 87-101.

It is a major Persian language works of fiction of 11th century.

²⁴⁶ He is one of Persian prince of the Ziyārī dynasty, See: Van Dozel, E. J. (1994), *Islamic Desk* Reference, Leiden, Brill, p. 200.

Kāshifī Sabzewārī, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulțānī, p. 16.

CL, the ethical issues, which even sometimes goes beyond ethics and addresses the different stage of spirituality. They, gradually, submit a profound understanding of the meaning of chivalry further than time and sexuality, so that the later CL are not only colored with ethics and spirituality, but also provide a practical way of self purification. This kind of CL, instead of restriction to any certain Sufi orders or spiritual leaders, took shape in the vicinity of selfhood, while considering the borderline of sociability. Therefore, they can be categorized as the spiritual chivalry letter containing the code of principles and instructions for those, who want to follow the way of chivalry.²⁴⁸

The first SCL is written by Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021).²⁴⁹ He wrote an extra treatise in Arabic to present chivalry's characters and manners. On the basis of the *Qur'ān*, he proved that the ancestors of the chivalrous, goes back to the prophet Adam.²⁵⁰He identified chivalry as an essential universal generosity and extended it even to feeding stray dogs. He presented it as the renunciation of one's own rights because of others and considering himself as inescapably lower than all other creatures.²⁵¹

The most comprehensive SCL is written during the reign of Caliph Nāşir by Muḥammad Ibn Abū al-Makārim, known as Ibn Miʿmār Ḥanbalī Baghdādī (d. 642/ 1070). His CL is in Arabic and affords considerable insight into chivalry

²⁴⁸ Ivanow, V. I. (1927), "Étudessur les corporations musulmanes indo-persanes," Revue des étudesislamiques 1, pp. 249-72, as cited in: Zākerī, Moḥsin, "Javānmardī", in: *Encyclopedias Iranica*, Vol. 14, Fasc. 6, p. 594-601 (www.iranicaonline.org/articles/javanmardi) and Hathaway, S. l. & Kim, D. W. (2012), *Intercultural Transmission in the Medieval Mediterranean*, UK, A & C Black, p. 69.

²⁴⁹ Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sulamī (2002), *Al-Futuwwah*, studied by Iḥsān Dhunnūn al-Thāmerī & Muḥammad Abd Allāh al-Qadaḥāt, Jordan, Dār al-Rāzī, English trans. by TosunByrak al-Jerrahi al-Halveti (1983), *Futuwwah*, London, Ease West Publ.
²⁵⁰ A manuscript of this treatise exists in *Ayāsofyah* library in Istanbul under the No: 2049 and a

A manuscript of this treatise exists in $Ay\bar{a}sofyah$ library in Istanbul under the No: 2049 and a microfilm is in the center of document and a manuscript in Jordan under the No: 1267.

²⁵¹ Ridgeon, Lioyd V. J. (2009), Moral and Mysticism in Persian Sufi: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran, London, Routledge, p. 30.

hierarchical structure and ceremonies of initiation. According to him, the followers of chivalry are all bound together as companions or comrades (rafīq or rufaqā'). In addition, he gave notice to the interest and association of Abbasid Caliph Nāşir to chivalry and his efforts to unite all groups of chivalrous.²⁵²

However, the most important development of SCL was nominated by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) through his attention to the relation of chivalry with Sufism. This relation is revealed in his CL and determined Sufism as the substructure of chivalry, and considered chivalrous interdependent. There are two CL attributed to him: *Al-Kitāb al-Futuwwah* and *al-Risālah al-Futuwwah*.²⁵³Both of them are in Persian and give clear explanation about chivalry chronicles and initial rituals. As he was an influential consultant of Caliph Nāşir, his work is considered a valuable source for the political condition in Baghdad in the early twelfth century.²⁵⁴

The CL of Najm al-Dīn Zarkūb Tabrizī (d. 712/1312)²⁵⁵: He was one of Suhrawardī's disciples and wrote his CL in Persian, which contains a comparable survey of the chivalry with Sufism. This feature distinguished it from other CL. According to him, chivalry is dependent on three things: First, it is the chivalry of tongue, which is to prevent backbite, accusation and abuse. Second, it is the chivalry of heart, which is to purify the heart from greed and meanness. And, third, is the chivalry of eyes, which is to avoid looking at dirty and abhorrent things. On the basis of this classification, Tabrīzī compares chivalry with the right speaking (*Sharī'ah*), the right seeing and right action (*tariqah*) and the

²⁵² Ibn Mi'mār (1958), *al-Futuwwah*, al-Maktabah al Muthannā, Baghdad, First Publishing, p. 67.

²⁵³ Şarrāf, Murtidā (1973), *Rasāil Jawān Mardān*, Tehran, Anjuman Irān Shināsī Farānseh, Iran and Paris.

²⁵⁴ Renard, John (1998), Windows on the House of Islam: Muslim Sources on Spirituality and Religious Life, University of California Press, p. 236.

²⁵⁵ He is one of the Persian Sufis of twelfth century and disciple of Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūyah.

manifestation of God's attribution in human (*haqiqah*). He, therefore, considers chivalry in three levels: First, chivalry for ordinary people, second chivalry for special people as prophets and saints, and third, chivalry for the most special people as the Prophet of Islam (p.b.u.h).²⁵⁶ The CL of 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī (d. 730/1330), *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*, will be discussed later in this chapter.

The CL of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Maḥmūd Āmulī in fourteen century. He composed a large Persian encyclopedia on the classification of knowledge entitled *Nafā'is al-Funūn Fī 'Ara'is al-'Uyūn*. He presented Sufism according to five techniques, of which the fifth technique is the knowledge of chivalry.²⁵⁷

The CL of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Bayhaqī Kāshifī Sabzewārī, known as Mullā Ḥusayn Wāiz Kāshifī Sultānī (d. 910/1504):²⁵⁸For the first time, he studied chivalry as a science. His CL contains three introductions, in which he explained about the knowledge of chivalry lexically and technically. The main body of his book contains of seven chapters and twenty nine sections, in which he describes the origin of chivalry, condition of masters and disciples and its manner and ritual.

Some CLs are composed in poems. The CL of 'Attār Nayshābūrī (d. 618/1219)²⁵⁹ is a sample of a literary CL, in which the seventy two conditions of chivalry are prescribed, including moral values to purify the soul, and conduct

²⁵⁶ Şarrāf, Mortiza (1992), *Rasāil Jawān Mardān*, 2th ed., Tehran, Anjuman Irān Shināsī Farānseh.

²⁵⁷ Shams al-Din Muhammad Ibn Maḥmūd Āmulī (2001), *Nafā'is al-Funūn Fī 'Ara'is al-'Uyūn*, Vol. 2, Qum, Islamiyyah.

²⁵⁸ Kāshifī Sabzewārī, Husayn Wāiz (2001), *Futuwwat Nāmeh Sultānī*, Corrected by Muhammad Jafar Mahjūb, Tehran, Tawfiq Publ., 2th ed.

²⁵⁹ Abū Hamīd bin Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm was a Persian Sufi poet, theoretician of Sufism and hagiographer from Nayshābūr.

toward others.²⁶⁰Besides, we can refer to CL of Mawlānā Nāṣirī (689/1290)²⁶¹in eight hundred bites in Persian.²⁶²

2. Guild's Chivalry Letters (GCL)

There are some CL that emphasizes the relationship between ethics, profession and human being. They can be considering as a kind of guild's chivalry letter (GCL), as each of them belongs to the specific guild and trade, like GCL of builders. They, mostly, are dealing with the guilds of Ottoman Dynasty. In such kind of GCL, the profession is considered as a sacred affair; so that the ethical principle is considered in carrier.²⁶³Therefore, the innermost issue discussed in such GCL letters is the ethic in profession, craft and art. Citing the Prophecy narratives, which demonstrate the importance of laboring and work in order to obtain lawful living and business, the chivalrous considered the occupation as a kind of worship and spiritual issue.²⁶⁴ With respect to this, the masters of different professions started to write GCL, in order to teach the spiritual dimension of that certain field. The training manner of GCL led masters to write them in a method of question and answering. They are written in simple prose and told about its origin, the necessary garment and tools of the profession. For example, we can refer to the chivalry letter of bakers, in which at the beginning it

²⁶⁰ 'Attār Nayshābūrī (1988), Futuwwat Nāmeh, Tehran, Jāwidān.

²⁶¹ The Persian Poet, who lived in the Anatolia at the late of twelfth century.

²⁶² Gūlpinarly, Abd al-Bāqi (2001), *Futuwwat Dar Kishwarhā īy Islami*, Persian Trans. by Hāshimpūr Subhānī, Tehran, Rūzbeh Publ., p. 24. This book is a translation of an article under the title "Illerinde Futuvvet Teskilative Kaynaklarl Islam ve Turk"in : *Journal of School of Economic*, Vol. 11, No: 14 Istanbul. The Greman Trans. of this CL is done by Täschner, Franz (1944), *Der Anatolian Dichter Nāşiriund sein Futuvvet Nāme*, Leipzig, F. A. Brockhouse. There are two description of it available in *Köprülü* and *Ayasofyah* libraries in Turkey.

²⁶³ Gūlpinarly, *Futuwwat Dar Kishwarhā īy Islami*, Persian trans., p. 24.

²⁶⁴ Frithjof Schuon (2005), *The Transfiguration of the Man*, United States, World Wisdom Book, p. 84.

is told about the origin of the bakery, and after that the proper quality that the

master of bakers and his students should have:

"The origin of the bakery goes back to Gabriel, who taught to Adam and he taught to Shith and Noah, Solomon, Elias and Abraham until at the time of the Muhammad (p.b.u.h), the Gabriel taught it to him, and he baked bread by enthusiastic guidance for thousand thirty one of his friends.....Be aware that the necessary garment of the baker is submission to God's orders and his belief is to pray, his *Kaaba* is God, his ablution is to avoid from the lust. The spirit of his garment is talking and its pray is purification. The base of his garment is knowledge and its treasure is wisdom. The collar of his garment is kindness and its arm is to cover and its skirt is to service to people.

....If it is asked, what is essential for the master of baker, the answer is: To be washed continual ($wud\bar{u}$ '), to pray five times a day, to fast the month of *Ramadān* and the noble days, to be firm by following the *sharī'ah*, to be on the straightway, to know about the truth, to remember his previous masters honorably, to follow the master of the path of truth, do not treat people with arrogance, to be kind to ever one, to teach and guide his students, to start his work by reading the *khutbah* of the bakery, to try always to open the bakeshop, before start to bake, read *Surah Fatahah* for the master the previous bakers, to be patient, do not backbite and do not abuse....²⁶⁵

Among other GCL, we can mention the wad makers, burlap weaver and scale. The connection of chivalry ideology with profession and the social practices were always at the center of scholarly interest. Some of these precious treasures are collected by Henry Corbin and Murtidā Şarrāf, but the most prominent work belongs to Mihrān Afshārī, who collected fourteen chivalry letters.²⁶⁶He recently published another thirty GCL.²⁶⁷ However, chivalry has received scholarly scrutiny, but GCL have not generally brought acquisitive analysis.

Regardless of the type of CL, they are considered as a collection of historical documents, which are based on the transmission of a series of affiliated

²⁶⁵ Afsharī, Mihrān (2009), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, Tehran, Chishmeh, 3th ed., p. 154-163.

²⁶⁶ Afshqrī, Futuwwat wa Asnaf.

²⁶⁷ Afshārī, (2012), Si Futuwwat Nāmeh Dīgar, Tehran, Cheshmeh.

stable codes and ethical conception in order to designate the way to spirituality in a normal life. Thus, cognition the CL is very significant for the survey of the history of Islamic culture and civilization. They are the most authentic sources for studying chivalry. And as long as all of them are not identified, the investigation about chivalry will be defective and incomplete.

4.2 INTRODUCTION TO TUHFAH AL-IKHWĀN FĪ KHAṢĀIṢ AL- FITYĀN

Tuḥfa al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān, written by Kāshānī in the fourteenth century, is about chivalry in Islam. Although, it is not as major as chivalry letter of Ibn al-Mi'mār, but it discusses chivalry in theoretical and practical approach. It includes a wide range of Qur'ānic verses, narratives, poetry, rational arguments on epistemology, different levels of spirituality and proper etiquette; thus, it is consider as an important source for those who are striving to understand the proper spiritual chivalry.

It is not surprising that Kāshānī's works often appear as highly authentic sources for later Islamic authors; since, they are sort of theology and practicing Sufism and focus on the conceptual exposition of Ibn 'Arabī's teaching. Therefore, they were always at the center of consideration with other authors, and are considered as a valid source for their writings. *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān* is also not an exception. For example, Āmulī gave many references in his book *Nafāis al-Funūn Fī 'Arāis al 'Uyūn* to it.

Furthermore, Wāiẓ Kāshifī, in addition to other sources, paid attention to the *Tuḥfah al- Ikhwān fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān* and discussed in detail about some of the concepts that Kāshānī briefly cited.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁸ Kāshifī Sabzewārī, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sultānī, p. 131.

Additionally, Muḥammad Ma'sūm Shīrāzī (d. 1293/1876)²⁶⁹ in the first volume of his work *Tarā'iq al-Ḥaqāyiq*, for interpreting the story of "People of the Cave" (*Aṣḥāb-i Kahf*), exactly quoted from *Tuḥfah al- Ikhwān*.²⁷⁰The CL of 'Alā al-Dawlah Simnānī is very similar to Kāshānī's; while the only considerable difference is the index of chivalry terminology at the end of Simanānī's treatise.

To systematically examine the treatise, this research begins to present the title, editions and differences between Arabic and Persian version. Later, it will describe the style of writing and argue how the concept of chivalry is supported by the School of *Wahdah al-Wujūd* and School of Illumination. At the end, this chapter will clarify the method and partition of the treatise and the proto type of the fundamental ideas of chivalry according to Kāshānī.

4.3.1 THE TITLE AND EDITION

Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān means "A gift to brothers on the character of young men", which indicates the purpose of the author to write this treatise, in order to fulfill his brotherhood. In the forward of this treatise, the author implied that one of posterity of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā, asked him to write what he had collected about chivalry.²⁷¹Although Kāshanī found his strength not enough to write this treatise, he felt that the acceptance of his request was noble. He, thus, wrote this treatise and called it *Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*.²⁷²However, the title of treatise is significant for the understanding of

²⁶⁹ Muhammad Ma'sūm Ibn Zayn al-'Ābidīn was one of famous Persian *Shaykh* of Ni'mat Allāhī sect of eighteenth century in Shīrāz. As he seldom spoke, he was known as "*Shaykh* of Silence" and "Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh". His book is a comprehensive encyclopedia of Sufis and their orders in three volumes.

²⁷⁰ Shirāzī, Muhammad Ma'sūm (2000), *Tarāiqh al-Ḥaqāiq*, Studied by Muhammad Jafar Mahjūb, Vol. 1, Tehran, Bārānī, p. 117,118.

²⁷¹ Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khasāis al-Fityān in Arabic, p. 525.

²⁷² ATIKF, p. 526.

its meaning and teaching. As Kāshānī was interested to deal with esoteric dimension of Islam, making this title of the chivalry's terminology penetrates the aim of the author to involve the reader to the essential character of chivalry as brotherhood. He did not mention the reason, but it might be in the style of his writing, which is short and compendium compared to CL of Suhrawardī.

The original description of this treatise is lost; however, there are two copies available in library in Iran. A copy is in the Library of Majlis Shawrā Islamī in Tehran, the collection No: 369, section 12, in Majmū'ah Rasāil Hukamā' (The collection of treatises of sages), which is written during the 1672 till 1674.²⁷³Pages 389-414 contain *Tuhfah al-Ikhwān*.²⁷⁴Another copy is available in the *Malik* library in Tehran. This copy is in a collection of different treatises in 417 pages, and mostly includes treatises from Sadr al-Dīn Qūnawī. Pages 411-434 contain the text of Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khasāis al-Fityān.

In addition to the Arabic prescription, there is the second CL written in Persian by the same author. Since, in the introduction of the Persian version, the author clearly explained that after he finished the Arabic text according to the request of some Persian students, whose Arabic knowledge was inadequate to understand it, he decided to rewrite it into Persian.²⁷⁵Therefore, there are two CL in Arabic and Persian, which are written by the same author and have the same

²⁷³ Shaykh Āghā Buzurg Ṭehrānī (d.1389/1969) named it in his al-Dharī'ah under the index of thirteenth treatises known as Tuhfah al-Ikhawān. (al-Dharī'ah Ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah is one of comprehensive encyclopedia about the Shī'ite authorships in 27 volumes. See: Aghā Buzurg Tehrānī (1983), *al-Dharī 'ah Ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī 'ah*, Beirut, Dāral-Adwā', Vol.3, p. 413-417. ²⁷⁴ The description is 25 pages. Each page has 24 rows and is written in *Nasta 'līq*, the main script

style used in writing Perso-Arabic-Persian script. It is written with the black ink; however, for the heading and the title of chapters and the Qur'anic verses are written with the red ink. It has white and blue paper and is in dimension of 19×9, 15×26. The cover is cardboard covered with goat tonnage in brown color. Each page is designed with the frame of fine golden and azure lines. The top of the page that the treatise is started is decorated with the rectangle that its background is blue color surrounded with the golden and red flowers. This kind of decorating is traditionally the predominant style in Persian calligraphy called *Tahdīb*. ²⁷⁵ *PTIKF*, p.222.

title : 1. Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khasāis al-Fitvān in Arabic (ATIKF) 2. Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khasāis al-Fityān in Persian (PTIKF)

The Persian Prescription is in the collection of 167 different treatises in Arabic and Persian in the library of Tehran University under the registrations no: 2832 through 2834. It is a microfilm of the prescription, which is kept in the Hamīdiyyah library in Turkey. Pages 363 till 372 contain the Persian prescription, which is written with very small font.

There are three publications of this treatise: First, is a cooperative work of Murtidā Şarrāf and Henry Corbin under the title, Rasā'il Jawānmardān, published 1973.²⁷⁶Second, is the study of Muhammad Dāmādī, 1991.²⁷⁷ And, the latest one is the study of Majīd Hādī Zādeh, who collected Kāshānī's treatises in a compilation called Majmū'ah Rasāil Wa Muşannafāt Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, and published it in 2002.²⁷⁸ Pages 525 through 563 contain the Arabic version. This version is the source of translation for this research; since, it is based on the comparison of the two above publications. In addition, the author gives suggestion in the footnote, if some words are not clear to read or even if he found any faults in writings. It is pertinent to mention that two later publishings contain also the Persian version of this treatise.

²⁷⁶ Corbin, Henry & Ṣarrāf, Murtiḍā (1973), Rasā'il Jawānmardān, Tehran, French Institute of Iranian Scholarly Research. ²⁷⁷ Kāshānī, Abd al-Razzāq (1991), *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*, Studied by

Muhammd Dāmādī, Tehran, 'Ilmī Farhangī.

²⁷⁸ Hādīzādeh, Majīd (2002), Majmū ah Rasāil wa Musannafāt Abd al-Razāq Kāshānī, Tehran, Mirāth-e-Maktūb.

4.3 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ARABIC AND PERSIAN VERSIONS

As Kāshānī stated in the introduction of the Persian version, it is clear that the Persian version is not a direct translation of the Arabic and the author has cut off the additional explanation in the Persian version. Therefore, the Persian version is almost an abstract form of the Arabic version, which is limited to presentation the necessary principles, while the additional comments, poems and narratives are written off by the author.²⁷⁹ The concept and central subjects, however, are the same in both versions, although there are some differences in the structure of arrangement in the chapters. For example, the introduction of the Arabic version is divided into three parts, while the introduction of the Persian version is divided into four parts. The additional chapter in the introduction of the Persian version is about the source and origin of initial rituals. This chapter in the Arabic version is set as the second conclusion. However, the conclusion in both Arabic and Persian versions is divided into three parts, but the third part of Arabic conclusion (The Character of Holder of Chivalry and Their Behavior and Manner) is set as the second conclusion in the Persian version. And, the third conclusion of the Persian version (At the Service of Hospitality) is set inexplicitly in the third part of Arabic conclusion without an independent title.

4.3.3 THE STYLE OF WRITING

As we know, Kāshānī is famous because of his commentaries of Ibn 'Arabī's teaching. Ibn 'Arabī, undoubtedly, is considered as one of the most difficult authors,²⁸⁰while Kāshānī, as one of his commentators, presents the high level

²⁷⁹ *PTIKF*, p. 222.

²⁸⁰ Morris, James Winston (1987), "Ibn 'Arabī and his Interpreters", Part II A, *Journal of the Amerian Oriental Society*, Vol. 107, p. 35; Chittick, p. 2.

discourses through a simple and understandable style. However, it is to notice, when it is said that he wrote simple, it means that compared to the Ibn 'Arabī's works, his style of writing is considered as simple; since, the author avoids to use complicated compound sentences. Although, the text is full of philosophy and spiritual issues that are not easy to understand. For example, we mention in the first paragraph of the second introduction of *ATIKF* as it is said:

لما تقرّر أن الفتوة مبنى الولاية و أساسها، فحيث ظهرت الولاية كملت الفتوة، لأنّ نهايتها بداية الولاية، كما أنّ نهاية المروة بداية الفتوة؛ إذ طريق الولاية أخلاق و معاملات و أحوال و مكاشفات و علوم و مشاهدات تنتهي الى الفناء في الله. و طريق الفتوة تجرّد الاخلاق و المعاملات و ينتهى الى خلاص الفطرة عن قيد الجبلة، و لمّا خلصت الفطرة حصلت البغيية، إذ الفضائل لازمة لها ذاتية و الرذائل خارجة عنها عارضيّة. و ينبىء عنها قوله- تعالى-: " لها ما كتسبت و عليها ما اكتسبت". فإن الاكتساب إتّخاذ بالقصد و الذية و الكسب حصول كيف إتَّفق، فالخيرات نافعة لها كيف ما حصلت، لأنها مقتضياتها و لوازمها عند التجرّد و الشرور لا تضرها إلا توجَهت اليها بالقصد و اتَخذتها لنفسها و إلامحيت عنها و ذهبت لأنّها عوارض غريبة عنها و عن عاملها صاعدة إليها من ظلمات النفس و معادن الرّجس.²⁸¹

It is obvious the text contains deep meaning of Sufi's teaching, like annihilation in God^{282} as well as philosophical issues, like the matter of the essence of good and vices. We face with compound conception, the manner in which the author wrote, is a clear, direct literature that brought description of the complex subjects to a more understandable form. The mastery of the manner of

²⁸¹ ATIKF, p. 529.

²⁸² The annihilation in God is the last level of spiritual school. Although, there are different interpretation of the technical words of School of Wahdah al-wujūd, but the researcher will explain shortly; since, it is out of the realm of this research. The annihilation in God is the last step of spiritual path according to School of Wahdah al-Wujūd. The nature of *fanā*' is not destryinh physical human, rather it means to change so that, there can be no sign in the new condition from the past. Therefore, $fan\bar{a}$ ' in human refers to his change from his situltaion to other situation. In other word, annihilation is referring to annihilation of ego (nafs). By annihilation ego, the man will transform, all misery will disappear as if it had never existed. It refers to disregarding everything in this world because of love towards God. When a person enters the state of $fan\bar{a}$ ' it is believed that he does not see any distance between him and God; since, in reality he does not see him anymore. Everywhere, he perceives God. The process of change will be in three levels: First, annihilation of action, second, annihilation of attribution and third annihilation of essence. This classification has constructed by the three level of tawhīd, which are Unity of action, Unity of attribution and Unity of essence. In this stage, man does not see himself and his will. God is the source of every action and will, so he is the stage of absolute submission. He saw only God as the real existence

partition and classification of the context into logical order makes them easier to understand. Not only is the mastery of the author important, understandability also depends on the creativity and talent of writing that can be observed in all treatises of Kāshānī.

In this treatise, the notion of chivalry and its ethical principles are very well organized and expressed in a simple and abstract form. The method of classification of chivalry in three parts as introduction, main body and conclusion, sequentially discusses the origin, path and character of chivalry, and depicts an appropriateness rational thought in the text. Sometimes, however, the author applies short sentences so that the reader needs additional explanation but, in general, the sentences are long.

Moreover, the solidarity and beauty of the text along with the concept and meaning is preserved. Additionally, the author integrated the content with appropriate Qur'ānic verses; therefore, a pragmatic unity and coordination within the text is clearly observed. Another prominent feature of the text is the application of a wide variety of rhetorical devices through the entire text. For example:

This style of writhing requires mastery of the language by the author, in which the author preserves the intellectual and metaphysical frame work, while

²⁸³ ATIKF, p. 529.

²⁸⁴ *ATIKF*, p. 537.

²⁸⁵ ATIKF, p. 541.

²⁸⁶ ATIKF, p. 547.

providing a musical rhythm that leads the text to be read with the more interest and appeal.

Moreover, the symbols used in the chivalry initiation ceremony are described by the author, and an esoteric interpretation and heavenly commentary is given by him.²⁸⁷Although some of them do not possess authentic historical sources, they generally provide a good position for esoteric interpretation.²⁸⁸

4.3.4 THE SOURCES

The numerous Qur'ānic verses (65 Qur'ānic verses) and narratives used in the text, depicts the author tried to construct his writing on the ground of Qur'ānic teaching. This characteristic is so obvious that it gives the reader the concept that the essential point of chivalry letter is not its adequate, integrated view to chivalry's method and practice. The effort of the author bears the roots of chivalry in the Qur'ān and presents the connection of Qur'ān with its action and rituals. On the basis of Qur'ānic teaching and prophetic narratives, Kāshānī sought the relation between *sharī'ah and țarīqah* with chivalry. In this regard, he explained the sensual strength and the virtues and the vices of human treatment. He, extensively, refers to the Qur'ān in verses and the prophetic tradition in support of his view about the doctrine and path of chivalry.

In addition to the Qur'ān and narratives, we can find the trace of influence of the Schools of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd* and School of Illumination in the chivalry letter of Kāshānī. Foremost, Kāshānī have benefited from the School of *Waḥdah*

²⁸⁷ Titus, Bruckhardt (2001), *Sacred Art in east and West: Its principles and Morals*, Translated by Lord Northbourune, USA, World Wisdom, pp. 75-76.

²⁸⁸ Guenon, Rene (2004), *Symbols of Sacred Science*, English trans. by Henry D. Fohr, Hilldale NY. Sophia Perennis, 2th ed., pp. 7-11.

al-Wujūd; since, as follower of this School of thought, he tried to present the theoretical and philosophical dimension of chivalry.²⁸⁹

Moreover, Kāshānī discussed about the three key conceptions of chivalry as the reality of chivalry, second the source of chivalry and third, the foundation of chivalry. By comparing them to that of Ibn 'Arabī's and Suhrawardī' definition, we find that Kāshānī's conception of the reality of chivalry is grounded on the integration of the Schools of thought of Ibn 'Arabī and Suhrawardī. On one hand, Ibn 'Arabī identified chivalry in *Fuşūş al-Ḥikam* as the spiritual stage of human strength (*al-quwwah*).²⁹⁰ Ibn 'Arabī presented chivalry as the ultimate stage of the perfection of every human being according to his strength. He explained that as long as human is under the control of the material desires, he would be consider as a boy; however, when he is released from all temptation of the soul, he would reach to the stage of young man (*fatā*), in the sense that his strength are achieved to their perfection and the virtues would appear in him. Ibn 'Arabī called this stage as the stage of the heart, which is known as pure heart (*qalb al- salīm*).²⁹¹

On the other hand, Suhrawardī, clearly, presented chivalry as spiritual path (tarīqah),²⁹²keeping in mind that the Illumination School is grounded on the combination of intellect ('*aql*) and witnessing (*shuhud*). With respect of this, Kāshānī identified the reality of chivalry as the appearance of innate potentiality of human being.²⁹³ His argument implies an individual spiritual experience, which is based on the intellectual cognition integrated with spiritual experience.

²⁸⁹ Kristen E. Kvam, Linda S. Schearing, Valarie H. Ziegler (1999), *Eve and Adam: Jewish*,

Christian, and Muslim Readings on Genesis and Gender, USA, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p. 199.

²⁹⁰ Ibn 'Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makiyyah*, 42: 146, 147.

²⁹¹ *Ibid*.

²⁹² Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 93.

²⁹³ ATIKF, p. 527.

He discussed about a kind of understanding which its pivot is not the mind but it is centralized in the human's heart.

According to the source of chivalry, the Prophet Abraham is recognized as its source by Kāshānī, Suhrawardī and Ibn 'Arabī. It is certainly that chivalry as the spiritual path possesses a particular chain. Suharawdī portrayed a comprehensive chain of chivalry begins from the prophet Seth to the Muḥammad (p.b.u.h) and handed to 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.²⁹⁴ In his chivalry letter, 'Alī is presented as the manifestation of the God's manificence.²⁹⁵ However, 'Alī as the heir of chivalry became the pole of chivalrous by Kāshānī, while Ibn 'Arabī mentioned only to the Abraham. According to the foundation of chivalry, they are agreeing that chivalry is based on nobility, which means the purification of the soul from whole vice and material pleasure.

As chivalry, officially, recognized as the sub-Sufism in chivalry letter of Suhrawardī, it contains ethical instruction for the master and disciple of path of chivalry, yet Kāshānī generalized this instruction and counted qualities as barriers and blights which threatened every disciple of chivalry.

Moreover, Suhrawardī counted different characters for chivalrous without particular classification, but they can classified into three dimensions of human's life. First, qualities which are related to the human intellect as intelligence, thought, acknowledgement and intuition. Second, qualities which are concerned to the practical traits or spiritual path as repentance, humility, chastity, piety and reliance. Third, qualities which are linked to society as loyalty, sanctity and conduct. However, most of these qualities are discussed by Kāshānī in a organized classification of virtues, while Ibn 'Arabī focuses on the quality of the

²⁹⁴ Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 100.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 112.

precedence (*ithār*). Therefore, although Kāshānī is influenced by Ibn 'Arabī and Suhrawardī, but he retained his creativity to develop the concept of chivalry and described the process of becoming one chivalrous in an organized form.

The substantial difference of chivalry letter of Kāshānī with other chivalry letters is appearing in the classification of chivalry's ethic. He enumerated eight virtues for chivalry on the basis of a narrative quoted by the pole of chivalry, 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib; while he classified them according to the four cardinal virtues. This unique character makes his chivalry letter to be considered as an ethical source and comparable to other authentic ethical sources such as al-Ghazalī. According to al-Ghazalī, there are four principles of virtues which are based on the analysis of the faculties of the soul. Three virtues, wisdom, courage and temperance, are related to the different faculties of the soul. The fourth virtue is justice, which has the task of properly ordering these faculties in relation to one another.²⁹⁶

As noted, these four main virtues, indeed, are the basic classification of Kāshānī's ethic of chivalry. Although, they possess different subsets, but they both are sharing the idea that there is a connection between knowledge and action. This knowledge is related to the knowledge of self. They are agreeing that ethic is a process of acquiring noble character and leads to vision and love of God.²⁹⁷ According to al-Ghazālī, the knowledge of self leads to discover the truth of humans being which this is the part of truth of God. As God is the source of

²⁹⁶ Al-Ghazālī (1993), *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, English Trans. by Fazl-Ul. Karim, Karachi, Darul-Ishaat, Vol. 3, pp . 50-2.

²⁹⁷ ATIKF, 531 and Paya, Ali (2014), *The Mystery lands of Ideas and the light of Dialogue, An Anthology of Comparative Philosophy, Western and Islamic,* London, ICAS, p. 3.

love and His essence is love, truth of human being is compounded with love of God; thus, who becomes a lover of God, will go back to his real being.²⁹⁸

Kāshānī; however, described it with mere Suhrawardī philosophical aspect, as he make a connection between intellect, certainty and action. According to Suhrawardī, God created intellect as the first thing, which it was capable to know God, itself and creatures. The knowledge of self leads to love, which is recognized as kindness of God.²⁹⁹To Kāshānī, this knowledge is the spirit of action, which is given to the human only through God's mercy. The human being is created in darkness, and then God shined upon him from His light. So, whoever gained that light is led and whoever missed it is misled.³⁰⁰

Although, Kāshānī tried to followed the classification of virtues but it differ itself in the subject of justice from that of al-Ghazālī. When we study deeper the subordinate of justice, advice and loyalty, we realized that Kāshānī considers the concept of justice as the balance between virtues as the general policy for the justice at the beginning of the chivalry's ethic.³⁰¹ However, the ultimate of justice is the appearance of the human strength in its perfection.³⁰² It is no wonder that as the follower of School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, he remained loyal to the ontology which is based on the system of appearance and manifestation. In this system, the intensity and perfection of the God's existence is source of His desire to be manifest. Therefore, the starting point of the ethic of chivalry by Kāshānī, is appearance of inborn nature in its perfect strength and the end of chivalry's character is the highest level of justice. Therefore, the concept of balance by al-

²⁹⁸ Al-Ghazālī, Sawānih al- 'Ushshāq, 0: 130-1; idem, 1:115, 116, 188, 189.

²⁹⁹ Renald, John (1998), *Windows on the House of Islam: Muslim Sources on Spirituality and Religious Life*, University of California Press, p. 180.

³⁰⁰ ATIKF, 544.

³⁰¹ ATIKF, 545.

³⁰² ATIKF, 549.

Ghazālī is presented by Kāshānī as the appearance of human nature in the perfect strength, which bestowed by God to human and is different in every human being.

4.3.5 THE METHOD OF DIVISION AND PARTITION

Kāshānī, systematically authored his treatise in three parts: introduction, main part and conclusion. The introduction is divided into three sections, which highlight subjects as:

- 1. On the reality of the chivalry
- 2. The origin and appearance of the chivalry
- 3. The principles and structure of the chivalry

The main body is arranged by the author in ten chapters. Chapter one to eight are carried out in detail virtues that need to be achieved by the man on the path to chivalry. As Kāshānī reconfirmed four cardinal virtues as chastity, courage, wisdom and justice, thus, he studied each of two virtues beneath one of the cardinal virtues as:

- 1. Repentance and generosity beneath the chastity
- 2. Humility and security beneath the courage
- 3. Truth and guidance beneath the wisdom
- 4. Loyalty and advice beneath the justice

The rest of virtues are classified and described under these eight essential qualities as follows:

Repentance (*tawbah*): Patience (*sabr*), complacency (*da'ah*), dignity (*waqār*), pious (*wara'*), to love what perfects the soul (*hasan al-samt*), regularity (*intizām*), contentment (*qanā'ah*), freedom (*hurriyah*).

Generosity (*sakhā*'): Forgiveness (*musamaha*), magnanimity (*samāḥa*) equality (*muwāsāt*), tax (*zakāt*), munificence (*karam*), magnanimous (*nabal*), sacrifice (*ithār*)

3. Humility (*tawāḍu*'): Gentleness (*ḥilm*), friendliness (*rifq*), toleration (*mudārāh*), stability (*thubāt*), sagacity (*shahāmah*), magnitude of the soul (*kibar al-nafs*), forgiveness (*'afw*), gentleness (*riqqah*), zeal (*ḥamiyyah*), great endeavor (*himmah*)

4. Security (*amn*)

5. Truth (*şidq*): Truth in intention, truth in action, Pureness (*şafā*'), excellent understanding and intelligence (*fahm/dhakā*'), mind (*lubb*)

6. Guidance (*hidāyah*): Guidance to knowledge of God, Guidance to His orders/ obligation/ permissible and forbidden, obtaining correct thought and faith

7. Advice (naṣiḥah): Trustworthiness (amānah), compassion (shafaqah), connection to relatives $(sillah \ al-raḥim)$, to keep straight between enemies $(islāht \ dhāt \ al-bayn)$, good participation $(husn \ shirkah)$, fairness and demand justice from himself and others, reward (mukāfāt), excellence judgment $(husn \ al-qadā')$, friendship (tawaddūd), intimacy (ulfah), sincere friendship (sidāqah)

8. Loyalty (*wafā*'): Salvation of the pure inborn self from the peel of birth (*lubb*), the covenant (*'ahd*), loyalty with people.

Continuing on, chapter nine and ten explain important points that need to be considered by the chivalrous as:

9. The pest of the chivalrous and the slander of nobility: To consider the virtues of soul, domination and pride, lying and pretending about the virtues, dissipation and intemperance, recklessness, lethargy, humbleness and injustice.

10. The differences between the chivalry one and the pretentious.

At the end, the conclusion of this chapter deals with three sections as:

1. The path of gaining chivalry

2. Declaration of chivalry's sources and the beginning of its path

3. The qualities of the chivalrous and their conduct and manner

4.3.6 THE PROTOTYPE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF CHIVALRY

The introduction delves in to theoretical chivalry. In the first section of the introduction, the author, Kāshānī, submitted an idiomatic definition of chivalry and argued that it related to the inborn nature and pure heart (*qalb salīm*), and its notion is transformed as the fundamental conception of chivalry in Islam.

According to Kāshānī, chivalry is a spiritual condition in which the innate human being with its potentialities will be appearing.³⁰³To describe this condition, the author explained necessary qualities that need to be obtained before gaining chivalry. The first stage is nobility (*muruwwah*), a quality that leads man to reach the virtues of humanity. The nobility is not completed without chastity and courage. Courage is the prominent character of the chivalrous; since, he has to stand any sufferings and difficulties on the path of chivalry, and not be afraid

³⁰³ Kāshānī (1995), Sharh Manāzil al-Sāerīn, p. 137.

of anything. Through courage and chastity the foundation of guidance and justice will be established. When the courage is completed, the chivalry will be achieved. In this regard, for expressing the reality and the roots of chivalry, Kāshānī refers to the Qur'ān 18:12; since, the "People of the Cave" (Ashāb-i Kahf) were a complete example of courage, chastity and chivalry.

The second section of introduction is allocated to the origin of chivalry and its manifestation. In this regard, the author discusses about the matter of sanctity (*walāyah*), which is manifested by the prophet Abraham. Accordingly, the author counted some characters that made Abraham qualified to be a friend of God, such as to release from earthy desires, to isolate from his father and tribe, to sustain all difficulties, to separate from his home, and to be patient and courage by breaking the idols. In this respect, the author asserted that the light of the pure inborn self shines only through refinement of the soul. Through self purification the light of inborn self will change from potential to actual.

In the third section of the introduction, he elucidates the principles and structure of chivalry. According to him, the principle of chivalry is pure soul, genuine heart, good deeds, graceful conduct, admirable habits, excellent pretension, correct thoughts and sincere intents. In this regard, he presents the importance of the role of shame ($hay\bar{a}$ ') and chastity (*'iffah*), which are the foundation of chivalry and nobility.

Therefore, Kāshānī classified chivalry's qualities in ten chapters on the basis of the narrative quoted from the 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. They are loyalty (*wafā*'), honesty (*şidq*), security (*amn*), generosity (*sakhā*'), humility (*tawādu*'), advice (*naṣīḥah*), guidance (*hidāyah*) and repentance (*tawbah*). Thereafter, he discusses about each in separate chapters. It is noteworthy to mention that he

changed the order of the above qualities, so that the first chapter started with the quality of repentance.

Kāshānī started with repentance, because on his point of view it is the base and principle of chastity, which leads to moderation of bestiality strength. Accordingly, the author depicts the evil attributions and its effects on human character that cause iniquity, greed and avidity, and shame and ugliness. According to Kāshānī, chivalry is not valid without repentance. It is returning from what is forbidden, according to legislation (*shar'*), and from what is honorably contempt by intellect, including saying, practice and intention. However, the repentance should be done with a sincere heart, so that he never commits the sin again. Therefore, Kāshānī, by referring to the Qur'ānic verse, explains how a successful repentance needs patience and resistance against the orders of caprice; since, patience leads to complacency, through which the soul reaches peace.

Therefore, chivalry means returning to the original nature of inborn self. This return is the matter of repentance. It is not only asking for forgiveness, but it is the acceptance of comprehensive transformation into the pure inborn nature through avoiding from pleasures, desires and affections. Hence, determination, strength, patience and stability are necessary elements. In order to use to do good deeds, the man needs information about actions, which will complete the soul and give the ability to distinguish the proper time of the implementation. This needs contentment, in the meaning that to live simple and be satisfied with what God has given to him and finally. This quality leads man to freedom, which is the head of nobility. The second chapter is related to the generosity. After the author gives a definition of generosity, he presents the different kinds of it. The third chapter is about humility. The author explained about the relation of courage with humility, and through Qur'ānic samples he discusses about the related qualities as: gentleness, forgiveness, stability, sympathy and zeal. According to Kāshānī, humility is the first sign of courage; since, courage is to direct anger toward correct notion and clear the mind by acting bravely in the state of fears and in the face of misfortune and difficulties. In this regard, the author gives sample from the prophecy narrative, which depicts that God loves the people of courage. The courage is the completion and straightness for sevenfold of a human's power, which needs forgiveness; especially in the time the man possess power and authority. In addition, Kāshānī stresses on forgiveness as the most important quality for chivalry. Hence, he describes its perquisite as sympathy, a kind of feeling caused when others get hurt. Other virtues will follow this feeling as zeal, stability and patience, which are the powers of resistance against suffering and difficulties.

To gain these qualities magnanimity is needed. It is to strive for great matters and sorts of glory and noble things, to despise the comfort, and to have the ability to take humbleness; on the basis of the worldview that the enjoyment of this world is short and finite.

The fourth chapter is about security. It is the self confidence and the peacefulness of the soul, so that the man does not feel worried by fear and does not lose his courage by ruining it, because he is assured by God's word that says: "Verify, for all things has God appointed a due proportion"³⁰⁴Therefore, the level of security is the stage of peacefulness, certainty, and baring the cover through obvious light. Security also covers a subsidiary meaning of courage; since, he

³⁰⁴ *Ṭalāq*, (65: 3).

who feels secure by God, believes that nothing will happen to him except what God has decreed for him.³⁰⁵

The fifth chapter is about truth. The truth is the lower stage of wisdom; thus, the author discuses about the wisdom, through which the human is distinguished from other creatures and becomes superior to the whole of existence. To obtain wisdom, purity of heart, understanding and discernment are needed. Wisdom here means the knowledge of the existent as they are, and to exactly define the proper aspects of actions in the manner it should be done. The quality of truth is the result of entitlement of the heart, and it would be manifested in three levels as:

1. Truth in intention: It is the sincerity of intention to do everything for the satisfaction of God and do nothing in exchange and reward.

2. Truth in word: It is to speak according to the reality. In this regard, the author refers to the Qur'ānic verses to depict the ugliness of lies by God.

3. Truth in action: It means that the action must be the same as the intension. In other word, the inside and outside the man is same and he is not afraid and shameful, if his action is unfolded for everybody.

Chapter six is about the guidance. It is opening the vision through reconciling. The guidance here means the knowledge of certainty emanated to the slave ('*abd*) through hyper serenity immediately after vision. Kāshānī also mentioned the differences of the knowledge of certainty ('*ilm al-yaqīn*) which, derived from logical proof, does not admit defect and doubt. And, there is appointed certainty ('*ayn al-yaqīn*) that is derived from spiritual contemplation. Additionally, there is right certainty (*haq al-yaqīn*) that is derived of real

³⁰⁵ *Tawbah*, (9: 51).

significance of what is observed. Subsequently, he classifies guidance in two levels:

1. Guidance to knowledge of God that is to believe in His existence and His unification and the devotion to Him. And, to know His attributes and actions and His prophets, and to have friends, especially sincere friends.

2. Guidance to His orders on obligation, permission, and the detestable and forbidden. Also, to be honorable and virtuous, to have excellent character, ethics and merits and possess beautiful qualities.

Chapter seven is about advice. It is the beginning of the justice's light and its key, and the basis of trust and its main issue. The justice is the emotional form of exposing the self in order to conciliate these powers with each other. And it is worthy and noble because it is the social form for entire virtues.

The advice is to want to benefit people and to awaken them by the method of rightness, and to justify and keep them away from what is harmful. In respect to this, Kāshānī sketches the necessary virtues as:

1. Trustworthiness: It is the perseveration of the trust and secrets, and to return what belongs to God and to protect it from what is alien.

2. Compassion: It is to endeavor to remove the detested things from people.

3. Connection to relatives: It is to share the earthly benefits with kinship.

4. Conciliation between enemies: It is to mediate between people and to reconcile between them.

5. Good participation: It is the balance in social life.

6. Rewarding: It is to reward the goodness with goodness or more.

7. Friendship: It is the amity to people of virtues and noble persons. It leads to familiarity and unity, the ideas based on love and harmony of sprits in eternity, which leads to brotherhood. It is the great gate of chivalry and the base of its structure and the principle of its concern.

Chapter eight is about loyalty. Kāshānī discusses loyalty from two points of view:

1. The loyalty to God: It is the faithfulness to a pre-existing covenant between God and man. It is perfection of man's potential strength, identified as inborn nature, which must be pure from darkness of temper and vices, as God has described the man's inborn nature pure and preserved it according to his word (53: 37). Thus, the loyalty in this level contains the man's convents with God and his declaration to His unity and his commitment to worship God, and to complete his duties according to the legislation (*sharī'ah*).

2. The loyalty to people: It is to preserve his brother's vow, to keep the friendship and to care for their right.

Chapter nine is about the characters that cause chivalry to fall:

1. The arrogance: The great pest of chivalry is to consider the virtues of one's own soul by following the desire. Referring to the Prophet's word, the worse sin is to behave arrogantly and be overbearing. As the holder of virtues is identified as His Caliph, and it assigns authority to him, he may feel an irresistible temptation of appropriating of divinity, which belongs exclusively to God. An overly proud person would presumably be more serious than that of evil $(ibl\bar{is})$ himself; since, pride is not only related to other people, but also to God.

2. Lie: Through lies, the base of nobility is destroyed and the basis of chivalry is ruined.

3. The dissipation and intemperance: The way of virtue is difficult and a chivalrous has to hold the middle way.

4. The recklessness: There is no doubt in the meanness of cowardice, but perhaps the seeker of chivalry asks for praise for his ignorance and embarks on risks not for protection of religion and people, and not for zeal of people. He meets danger with his authority and counts himself as brave, while in truth he is isolated from it.

Chapter ten is about the differences between the real chivalrous, the demander and pretender. The author distinguishes the chivalrous into three classes and describes the feature of each group. The chivalrous is someone whose virtue is complete, and is kept away from lowness and vices of soul through the vision of his Lord. This is the stable step in which the soul possesses peace. Kāshānī identifies a real chivalrous with four signs: First, his character would not change and transform, second he is aware of pests and difficulties, third his soul is overwhelmed by enjoyment and beauty, and fourth, his soul would yield to every beautiful action without thinking.

However, the demander of the way of chivalry tries to attain its qualities and blames himself by defeating. He is not exactly pure and perfect by suppression of his soul. He is satisfied by practicing and strains himself to fight for the path of chivalrous. The pretender is dressed in the manner of the chivalrous; while his inside and appearance is not equal, and his secret and public do not match.

The conclusion contains three sections. The first conclusion is about the way of attaining chivalry. Those who want to attain chivalry must apply with a real true demand. The next step is to avoid from what corrupts the chivalry and its deviation, like: lies, slander, greed, avidity, evil, treachery, treason, oppression, ignoble, stinginess, boasting and following pleasures. He must further avoid suspicious people and intercourse with evils, and not accompanying the sly and people of libertine; since, all these qualities defile the base of nobility and destroy its principle. Finally, Kāshānī explains that everything which dishonors the religion and slights the chastity is against chivalry. He also mentioned essential practical points, such as that chivalry must be started in the period of youth; as it will be difficult to obtain at old age. And, second, to take friends and brothers, whose endeavor is to obtain and consider chivalry.

The second conclusion is about declaration of chivalry sources and the beginning of its way. The author refers to the story that happened at the time of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h), and presents how covering the secret of people and avoidance of its disclosure is very important according to chivalry ethics. He attributes the initial ceremony of chivalry to that event, which is drinking the bowl of water and salt and wearing the special trousers and belt, and explains the secret and esoteric meaning beyond the surface of the tradition.

Drinking water refers to the knowledge that is achieved by the pureness of eternity and is vital for the human as the water is the essential pillar for a human's life. The salt refers to the meaning of justice, which balances our actions and makes the heart strong and complete. Wearing the robe refers to the virtue of chastity. It is a symbol to cover the defectiveness and prevent from the lust.

He presents that the perfection of knowledge is action, and discusses the superiority of the man of action to the man of knowledge. At the end of this part, Kāshānī has an outlook to the level of sanctity of master and argued that the achievement of ethical stages is the level of spirit, while the ultimate spiritual

perfection leads to the annihilation, which is the stage of the master. In addition, he describes the stage of heart that is the ultimate spiritual strength, while the perfection of the human inborn is lower than spiritual stages. Therefore, he concludes chivalry is the final corporal power and the perfect face of a human, not the intellect power.

The third conclusion is about the characteristics of the chivalrous:

1. To keep promise and to fulfill the covenant.

2. To preserve secrets even if they would be frightened with sword or threatened by different kind of harm and tortured by fire. Nothing would be revealed by him except concealment.

3. Magnanimity that is to protect holiness and to consider modesty in the occasion of accusation and situations of lowness.

4. Patience in order to release their souls from worldly attachments and lift their ambitions from uncertain ways, so that wishes don't mislead them, and their fortune and abilities do not decrease.

5. The lack of envy and hatred.

6. Loyalty: They are faithful and don't blame others. They fight in the way of God and are never are afraid of the reproaches of such who find fault.

7. Kindness and tolerance and sociability with poor and weak believers, and avoidance of rudeness.

8. Ruggedness. It is to use the power of defeat because of exaggeration of violence.

9. Glory. There are two kinds: first, to erect the soul from being low to the enemy and, second, the human's knowledge of the capacity of his soul and its honor.

10. To adorn oneself. It is the presentation of wealth and comfort that presents the glory of soul and the stage of thankfulness.

In summary, the whole discussion of the treatise is about ethic of chivalry in theory and practice. The author, Kāshānī, particularly tried to emphasize the relation of this character with the human essence. The character and moral constitution of the soul and enumerating the stages of the way of chivalry, and the method of its attaining is explained.

In fact, chivalry is a spiritual stage contained of collective levels of about forty qualities, in which a certain balance between the individuals and society is observable. The whole qualities are classified under eight principles of chivalry. Kāshānī, however, accepted the origin of virtues in four cardinal categories as, chastity, courage, wisdom and justice, and also added eight principles of chivalry beneath these four categories. Therefore, the repentance and generosity is placed beneath the chastity and the humility, and security is placed beneath the courage and the truth and guidance is placed under the wisdom, and loyalty and advice is placed under justice.

Beginning the discussion with human nature and its growing, and the manifestation of the inborn nature in its pureness and delicate qualities depicts that its structure is based on the positive elements found in the nature of humans. Kāshānī displays originality for chivalry through an analytical insight into the human being, which presents his psychological approach to ethic.

On the other hand, regardless if the man is a Sufi or belongs to common people, as far as theoretical method is concerned, the knowledge of self is necessary. Since, the whole success and salvation is dependent on the knowledge of oneself and cognition of the vices, from which the man should preserve himself. Thus, Kāshānī defined a sort of knowledge of oneself and certitude, both which are necessary for the man on the path of chivalry to attain.

In addition, Kāshānī provides the initiatory path that can be identified as his methodology employed everywhere in his treatise. Although it is limited to description of essential points, it is systematic and holistic. However, two key features of the structure of the text are that they are concerned with theory and method. The phenomenology of the spiritual path of chivalry on one hand, and on the other hand the practical method employed by the author, elaborate the text to clarify the conceptual problem within its philosophical and spiritual entity.

CHAPTER 5

TRANSLATION

TUHFAH AL-IKHWĀN FĪ KHAṢĀIṢ AL-FITYĀN

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The method used for translation of the text is a faithful translation. Despite the spiritual feature of the text, the cardinal intention of the translation is to convey the meaning, while it tries to keep the style of the author, to write simple and avoid from complex sentences in the process of translation. In case of complex sentences, the supplementary declaration is given in brackets, in order to be confident that the original text is accurately conveyed to the reader. It also tries to keep consistency in the use of the terminology and style of the translation.

The Persian version was used to assist understanding of the meaning of the Arabic original text; thus, the additional comments are mentioned in the footnote of translation. The translation is based on the edition by Hādī Zādeh, Majīd (2000), *Majmū 'ah Rasā 'il Wa Muṣannafāt Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī*, Tehran, Mirāth Maktūb.

To translate the Holy verses of Qur'ān, the *The Holy Quran* (2000), English translation by Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī, Malaysia, Saba Islamic Madis, is used. In the process of translation, the references of narratives and poems used by the author, is given. In order for it to be easy to access and compare the translation with the text, the number of pages in the original text is mentioned at the end of translation the same page.

Although, the Arabic and Persian version are written by Kāshānī himself, the Persian version clearly is not the direct translation of the Arabic version by Kāshānī; thus, there are differences between both versions that are mentioned in the footnote of the translation. The name of characters mentioned in the text are identified and suggested with the complete title. In this regard, the Kāshānī's book *Sharḥ Manāzil al-Sā'erīn* (2001), Tehran, Maktabah Ḥāmidī al-'Ilmiyyahm, is used. The stories quoted in the text that are not popular in the Islamic world, are described. In case of similar tales and narratives with 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif of Suhrawardī and Ihyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazālī, it is mentioned in the footnote.

5.1TRANSLATION OF TUḤFAH AL-IKHWĀN FĪ KHAṢĀIṢ AL-FITYĀN 5.1.0 Forward

IN THE NAME OF ALLĀH, THE BENEFICENT, THE MERCIFUL IN HIM MY TRUST AND ON HIM MY RELIANCE

Praise be to Allāh, who prettifies the hearts ($nuf\bar{u}s$) of youth ($al-fity\bar{a}n$) with beauty of virtues and honored them with beautiful qualities. In order to praise Him genuinely in the mornings and evenings while through His glorious grace, they sought His help to follow on the way of beauties. Blessing and peace be upon the chosen one from the most honorable tribe, Muḥammad, the guide to the creations with the most apparent proofs; and greeting upon his progeny, the forerunners in venerable traits compared with those before and after them, especially to the youth of the Arabs, who give without any demand, the victorious lion of Allāh (asad Allāh), 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, blessing to be the best means.

The learned, knowledgeable, perfect investigator *shaykh*, the forefront of Sufi's sect, the leader of *Muhammadian Nation*, the heir of chivalry (*futuwwah*) and sainthood (*walāyah*), [who belongs to] the People of beginning and the end, the remainder of the predecessor and purity of the successor, accepted by people and religion, the pillar of Islam and Muslims, Alī Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Muḥammad the son of great master (*shaykh al-kabīr*), the star of truth and religion, 'Umar al-

Suhrawardī, Allāh sanctifies the souls of those who passed away and continues his blessing on the remaining ones,- asked me to write what I collected about chivalry. Therefore, I found his reply as necessities of nobility. And for me it was lack of reward and weak strength. [525]

Thus, I completed it with importance and the below introduction, for a little is better than nothing, and named it "A gift to brothers on the character of the young men", and I arranged it with introduction, ten chapters and conclusion. The introduction contains three sub-sections. [526]

5.1.1 FIRST INTRODUCTION

ON THE REALITY OF CHIVALRY (FUTUWWAH)³⁰⁶

Be aware that chivalry is appearance of the inborn nature (*fitrah*), in its pureness and delicateness and to control it in accordance with the required development by. The chivalry is an attribute that follows the readiness of perfection, [and] necessary for the pure Abrahamic inborn nature, as the Most High Allāh said about it in Qur'ān: "But only he (will prosper) that brings that brings to Allāh a wealth sound heart."³⁰⁷

When a human's inborn nature stays pure from plagues temptation and its qualities, and when it is pure and shiny and released from the natural veils and corporal desires, and is ready to gain [quality of] perfections [of the inborn nature] and is eager to reach its ultimate and defeated the ego, and overcame its enmity, and broken its dignity and prevented his movements, and released from materialistic things and law qualities, and raised to the brilliant levels through

 ³⁰⁶ *Futuwwah* literary means youth, adolescent and chivalry, See: Maa Z. Madina (2007), *Arabic –English Dictionary of the Modern Literary Language*, Malaysia, Hizib Sdn. Bhd., p. 493.
 ³⁰⁷ Al-Shu'arā', (26: 89).

excellent will and noble stations, and ascended from sensuality costume, lust and anger to the ultimate human's virtues, and avoided all immoral qualities, and sought every good traits and abstained from law things and evils, and infatuated noble characters and virtues, then nobility (*muruwwah*) will be attained. When the virtues related to chastity ($hay\bar{a}$ ')³⁰⁸ and courage is won, and the basis of guidance and justice is established, the chivalry will be achieved. Therefore, nobility is the purity and clarity of inborn nature and chivalry is its brilliance and glory. It (chivalry) is the base and beginning of sainthood. As nobility is the base and foundation of chivalry, the one who does not possess nobility, does not have chivalry, and the one who does not hold chivalry does not have sanctity. Since nobility is the result of connection between Allāh and His servant through the pure inborn self, in this regard, the Prophet (p.b.u.h) said: [527]"Condone the noble person's faults; since, none of them commit mistakes unless his hand is in Allāh's hand and He enhances him".³⁰⁹

It's [nobility] axis is chastity, when the chastity is perfect, the nobility is completed. The chivalry is the singe of being close to Allāh and its axis is courage. When courage is completed, the chivalry is accomplished. [However], the courage is not complete, unless through certainty, which caused the safety. Therefore, fear is the root of uncertainty. The Most High Allāh said about people of chivalry:

³⁰⁸ Chastity is a Divine reality of the nature quality for the human that it is survived in the hidden light, se cited by Kāshānī (1992), *Isțilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, Studied by 'Abd al-'Āl Shāhin, Cairo, Dār al-Manār, first ed., p. 348.

³⁰⁹ In Persian version, Kashānī has quoted this *Hadith* from 'Alī ībn Abī Tālib. In the meaning that by Allāh's grace the young boy will succeed to correct their faults, See: 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Hikmah 19, by Fayd al-Islam, Tehran, Faqīh Publ., p. 1095; Bahā' al-Dīn al-Abshīhī, *Al-Mustaţraf*, Vol. 1, p. 272. (www.ahlalhdeeth.com/vb/showthread.php?t=161426); In this regard, Suhrawardī quoted a narrative form Muhammad (p.b.u.h) in his chivalry letter that the one who does not persist to commit sin, but he dose and repents, his repentance is accepted even for sventy times. See: Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 133.

"... They were youth, who believed in their Lord, and we advanced them in guidance. We gave strength to their hearts: behold, they stood up and said: "Our Lord is the Lord of the heavens and of the earth: never shall we call upon any Allāh other than Him: if we did, we should indeed have uttered an enormity!"³¹⁰

The phrase "who believed in Allāh" means that they became believers because of their clarity, preparation and integrity of inborn nature, and the cardinal light of guidance.³¹¹ The phrase "we advanced them in guidance" refers to their certainty that Allāh succeed them to request for it.³¹²The phrase "We gave strength to their hearts" means that Allāh gave their hearts power and patience to leave their wealth and homes behind to escape to caves for saving their belief. Allāh gave them courage to present their belief in "Unity of Allāh" (*tawhīd*) and to appear Islam, when "They stood up" against indifferently force of oppressor Decius³¹³, and they abandoned worshiping idols by saying "Our Lord is the Lord of the heavens and of the earth".³¹⁴

It is quoted that People of the Gospel $(Inj\bar{\iota}l)^{315}$ acted sinfully and their kings exceeded (in this way), so that they praised idols and forced people to worship them. This became firm by *Decius*, when he wanted some of a noble group of citizen to run his commands and threated them to death; but they refused to

³¹⁰ Al-Kahf, (18: 13-14).

³¹¹ In *PTIKF* is written: The cardinal light is necessary for pure inborn self.

³¹² *PTIKF*: The stage of witnessing and source of certainty ('*ayn al-yaqīn*).

³¹³ Gaius Messius Quintus Decius Augustus (ca. 250 C.E.), was Roman Emperor, who issued edict for suppression of Christianity, See: Martin Novak, Ralph (2001), *Christianity and Roman Empire: Background texts*, London, Continuum International Publishing Group, p. 121. ³¹⁴ Al-Kahf (18: 14)

³¹⁴ Al-Kahf, (18: 14).
³¹⁵ The word Injīl is used to refer to the scripture of the Gospel meaning the Christian; however, as the People of the Cave were the only Christian in the time of Decius, it seems that Injīl could not be appropriate term here and it may be "Ahl al-Hayl", the residence of a state. See: Leaman Oliver (2005), Encyclopaedia of the Quran, USA, Routledge, p. 297; Leeming, David Adams (1998), Mythology: The Voyage of the Hero, USA, Oxford University.

accept it. Instead, But, they presented their belief in Allah and tawhid, 316 and escaped to the cave, as the story is well known.

This will happen, when man attains chivalry or sanctity, they believe in their Lord with the certainty faith,³¹⁷ and theoretically by inference (*istidlal*) or opening (*mukāshafah*),³¹⁸ "We advanced them in guidance" refers to the guidance to vision of certitude³¹⁹ ('ayn al-yaqīn) and the station of witnessing (*mushāhadah*);³²⁰ "Gifted their hearts strength" means that we (Allāh) gave them strength by patience for doing deep struggle (mujahadah) and to leave common bodily desires and related sense behind,³²¹indeed, we (Allāh) gave them courage to fight the devil (*al-Shavtān*) and resist against desire and pleasure ($haw\bar{a}$ ').³²²by carrying out the Unity (*bi kalimah al-tawhīd*), against giant soul who demands evil by being detached and unconcerned when he is blamed for leaving the obedience of the God of pleasure, and call them to worship the idols of body (self desire). When the oppressor ruler of the demanding soul (nafs ammārah),³²³lead them to evil, they rejected her call to praise Allah by obsession and worshipping corporal idols. As they said, "Never shall we call upon any Allāh other than Him: if we did, we should indeed have uttered an enormity.³²⁴ Otherwise, if we recede

³¹⁶ According to Kashānī, *tawhīd* in ethic means to consider that the entire kingdom and

appearance and the whole actions are from Allāh, as cited in Istilāhāt al- Sūfivvah, p. 378.

Al-Kahf, (18: 13).

According to Kāshānī, *mukāshafah* is to witness the substances and their states in reality and the right achievement by the study the manifestation of the Allah's attributions; however, he defined it in ethic as to know the manner of gaining Divine attributions, as cited in Istilāhāt al-*Sūfiyyah*, p. 346.

Al-Kahf, (18: 13).

³²⁰ *Al-Kahf*, (18: 13).

³²¹ *PTIKF*: This is the stage of attendance ($hud\bar{u}r$).

³²² Hawā' is the tendency of the soul to the appropriate temper and to recede from the correct direction to the incorrect, as cited in Istilāhāt al- Sūfivyah, p. 72.

³²³ The sensuality self is the faculty that leans to the corporal nature and commands to the pleasures and sensational lust and absorbs the heart to the law direction, which is the home of the evils and the source of the alien characters and bad actions. As it is said in the Qur'ān, Yūsuf, (12: 53): "Undoubtedly the soul excessively commands towards evil", as cited in Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah, p. 115. ³²⁴ *Al-Kahf*, (18: 13).

and retreat the unity (*shirk*), then we committed a great sin. As Quran said:"... For false worship is indeed the highest wrong-doing."³²⁵[528]

5.1.2 SECOND INTRODUCTION

THE ORIGIN AND APPEARANCE OF CHIVALRY ³²⁶

As we said before, chivalry is the basis and foundation of sainthood. When sainthood has appeared, the chivalry is complete; since the end of chivalry is the beginning of sainthood as the end of nobility is the beginning of the chivalry. And, the way of sainthood is based on morals, conduct, states, opening, knowledge and witnessing, which leads to annihilation in Allah (al-fanā' fi Allāh).³²⁷ The way of chivalry is isolation of morals and conduct, which leads to liberate inborn nature from the limitation of nature (temper). When the inborn nature is free [from all impurity], the goal is attained. The virtues are necessary within human beings but the vices are accidental obstacles from the human inborn nature. We know about it by His (Allāh) word -the Most High-:" ... It gets every good that it earns, and it suffers every ill that earns....³²⁸ Therefore, *iktisāb* is a kind of gaining with intention and purpose [for himself], while *kasaba* is a kind of getting coincidentally; hence, the goodness ($khayr\bar{a}t$) benefits the inborn nature regardless how it has been achieved. Since, they (khayrāt) are necessary and required for the inborn nature, and the vices could not harm it (the inborn nature), unless the goodness is considered with intension, if they (vices) are attained [with intention], the inborn nature dies and carries off peculiarity

³²⁵ Al-Luqmān, (31: 12).

³²⁶ This chapter is set as the fourth chapter of introduction in *PTIKF*.

³²⁷ According to Kāshānī, annihilation to Allāh in ethic means the annihilation of whole human's qualities in to the Divine ethics, as cited in *Istilāhāt al-Ṣūfīyyah*, p. 367.

²⁸ Al-Baqarah, (2: 286).

obstacles; since, it is ascending from the darkness of oneself and sources of dirt.³²⁹

The beginning and the key of sainthood, from which spreads union and on which appears chivalry and sainthood—the beginning of sainthood is the sacred Abrahamic oneself. The Abraham, the friend of Allāh, (*khalīl al-Allāh*), (a.s)³³⁰ was the first one, who released from the world its pleasure, was devoid from its beauty and lust, and isolated from his father and his tribe, and sustained all difficulties and troubles for the love of his Lord. He traveled his journey towards Allāh, leaving his family, his deares, homes, usual pleasures for Him, and he endured being away from home and was patient in battle. He presented his courage by breaking the idols and resisted against his tribe until his enemies testified his chivalry, as Allāh said:" They said, "We heard a youth talk of them: he is called Abraham."³³¹

And so his enemies affirmed his superiority!³³²

Therefore, he is the source of strengths and the appearance of chivalry both in inward and outward. He also set its foundation and rules, and developed it

³²⁹ *PTIKF*: As the vices have not the same essence with the soul, they would not establish in the soul except by doing it frequently with intention; otherwise, the soul would be pure by the repentance and to avoid committing it again. So, the soul will return to its initial pureness. It is like water that its essence is required to be cold and it becomes warm by the fire, but as long as it distances from the fire, it become again cold. However, after transfusion it would be difficult, like sulfur water spring that its sulfur cannot be separated from the water.

³³⁰ *Khalīl* is the highest kind of friendship. It is higher than *habīb* and *safī'*; since, *khalīl* is someone, whose entire heart is covered with the love of Allāh and it never links to anything except the love of Him, See: Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' al- 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 2, chapter: The rights of the Muslims, relative and neighbors, p. 117.

³³¹ Al-Anbiyā', (21: 61).

³³² This verse is a part of poem, which is known as *Jaljaliyyah* (الجلجليه) written by 'Umar Ibn 'Ās to Mu'āwiyyah Ibn abī Sufyān. (*www.alkafeel.net* ، ... ، تسم الشعر الفصيح (), Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (2007), *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, Studied by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, Vol. 4, p. 577.

from the beginning to the end. He traditionalized the feast and hospitality.³³³ He made a vow not to eat alone until his death, and accomplished his chivalry by scarifying his son and leaving all his fortune behind, while he was enjoyed that he was called by Allāh the firend (*khalīl*) and he disdained himself as he became closer to glorification [529] of His (Allāh) great Name.³³⁴

The pole of chivalry, through him its deviation was rectified and its curvature was stabled, is my master, Amīr al-M'ūminīn 'Alī Ibn Alī Ṭālib (blessing and peace upon him), who reached the ultimate stage of asceticism and piety and attained the final stage of courage and endurance, and he insisted after three days [of fasting], to give the food [to others] until he became the one to whom Allāh revealed the verse: "And they feed, for the love of God, the indigent, the orphan, and the captive".³³⁵

He rescued Prophet with his life in the night when Prophet left Mecca, and he gave up his life to people who wanted to kill him. And, because of his high stability and perfect certainty, he endured his spirit for fighting with Islam's enemies; so that Gabriel (a.s) said about him:" There is no youth save 'Alī".³³⁶

The relation of Abraham's chivalry to 'Alī (a.s), is like the slaughter of the son for redemption of himself. It will be complete by the seal of sainthood means

³³³ Al- Ghazālī, *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 1, Ch. Fasting, p. 180.

³³⁴ *PTIKF*: It is quoted that Gabriel asked the Allāh how Abraham is attained the high level of nobility, while he possesses lots of fortune. Allāh said: "His heart is with us, not with the money, if you want you can prove him." Gabriel has appeared to Abraham while he praised Allāh with pleasing song:"The most glory and holy is the Lord of the angles and spirit."Abraham liked Gabriel's pray very much and asked him to repeat it again. Gabriel told:" If you give me one third of your fortune I will song it again." Abraham gave to him and Gabriel song one more time. However, Abraham was so delighted to hear his pray as he again give him another one third of his fortune and at the end give all his possession in order to hear his pray again."

³³⁵ Al-Insān, (76; 8).

³³⁶ Ţūsī (2000), *Amālī Shaykh al-Ṭāyafah*, Qum, Andisheh Hādī, p. 88; Ṣadūq Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥusayn Ibn Bābūyah Qumī (1979), *Ma'ānī al-Akhbār*, Beirut, Dār al-Ma'rafah, p. 40; Majlisī Muhammad Bāqir, *Bihār al-Anwār*, Tehran, Islāmī Publ., 3th ed., Vol. 32, p. 487,529, 617; Vol. 38, p. 269 and Ibn Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Hasan 'Alī Ibn Abī al-Karam (1965), *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh*, Beirut, Dār Ṣār, Vol. 2, p. 107.

Mahdī in the Last time (a.s). As the first point of prophecy was *Adam*, the serene friend of Allāh (a.s), and its pole was Abraham, the friend of Allāh (a.s) who was assigned to follow him. And, the seal of it was Prophet Muhammad, the beloved one (p.b.u.h).³³⁷

The relation of chivalry of 'Alī (a.s) to Abraham is like the relation of the prophecy of Abraham to Adam (a.s). Thus, the one who adheres to him, and his heart beats for him, is qualified to overflow by his graces and to be flourished by him. Therefore, it is necessary to follow and obey him and to ask for help from his sacred spirit and to abound from his pure oneself, until he is prepared to take some of his states (ahwal). Then, he can benefit from the lumen of his lights by his power of love; in order to be complete, according to the [own] talent and to attain his ultimate goal and ambition, when his love is deeply rooted in him ('Alī) and the perfect obedience and submission toward him is accomplished. Allāh knows better! [530]

5.1.3 THIRD INTRODUCTION

THE FOUNDATION AND STRUCTURE OF CHIVALRY³³⁸

As it is explained, chivalry is appearance of the light of inborn nature from the veil of potentiality to utterance of actuality. Thus, its principles would be things that purify the soul and refine the heart by good deeds and graceful conduct, satisfactory character, admirable habits, praiseworthy habits, excellent pretension, correct thoughts, sincere intents and everything that discourages man from evils and keeps him away from bestial acts, plus eliminates the veils of self darkness and unveil the luminous truth of belief.

³³⁷ *PTIKF*: It is referred to the *Nisā*', (4:125).

³³⁸ *PTIKF*: This chapter in Persian version is set as the fourth introduction.

This matter is related to shame (al-hayā'). It is self limitation and fear to commit shamefulness. Therefore, it implicates the dignity of the essence of self and purification of inborn nature in its origin, and [depicts] the ability of distinction between beauty and ugliness, and to reject ugliness to rise for worthiness; as if, the preparation of the pureness of chivalry needs to know the defect of self and to escape from evils and to request the virtues. Thus, the holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) said: "The shame is the sign of belief"³³⁹ and Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the leader of believers) (a.s) said: "People do not see the fault of the man, who has the character of shame."³⁴⁰The poet said:

For your father, there is no goodness in his life in this world, if the shame is gone"³⁴¹

The beginning of the virtues is chastity (al-'iffah), which is the basis of nobility. Its principles and doctrine is mentioned by its pole, who transcended its quality and stabilized its basis. As 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s), leader of believers said: "The basis of chivalry is loyalty, honesty, security, generosity, humility, advise, guidance and repentance."³⁴²

The one, who does not possesses these characters, does not deserve chivalry. He (a.s) taught its perfection, when he was asked about chivalry: "Chivalry is forgiveness, when you are in power, and it is humility at the time of

Al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 3, p. 312; Kulaynī, Muhammad Yaqūb (2006), al-339 Uşūl al-Kāfi, Tehran, Islāmiyyah Publ., Vol. 2, p. 106; Majlisī, Bahār al-Anwār, Vol. 51, p. 358; Al-Naysābūrī, al-Mustadrak, Vol. 1, p. 52,53,153 and Al-Tarmadhī, Sunan al-Tarmadhī, Vol. 4,

p. 321. ³⁴⁰ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Hikmat 223, p. 508. ³⁴¹ Al-Başrī al-Māwardī (1955), *al-Adab al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn*, 3th ed. Egypt, Maktabah al-Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Awlādah, p. 224-228.

³⁴² The reference of this narrative is not founded in the authentic sources.

wealth, and it is generosity when you are in a state of deficiency and donate without any expectation.

Therefore, chivalry is attained, when all these moral virtues are settled in self and the soul is void of evil qualities.

The virtues are limited in four famous categories: chastity (*'iffah*)³⁴³, courage (*shajā 'ah*), wisdom (*hikmah*)³⁴⁴, justice (*'adalah*).³⁴⁵ [531]

Each two characters of the eight principals mentioned by the founder of chivalry (a.s) are gathered in one of four categories. The cardinal category [of the virtues] is the basis and origin and the rest [of virtues] will follow it. As long as the later follows the cardinal category, which is the rank of ultimate purpose and degree, which when ever it reaches, then all of them are united and none of them are omitted. So, the repentance and generosity is in the category of chastity, the humility and security in the category of courage, honesty and guidance in the category of wisdom and loyalty and advice in the category of justice.³⁴⁶

³⁴³ Chastity is to seek the breaking the incitation of the closeness and to seek the incapable of the soul and frightened form the love, as cited in *Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah*, p. 252.

³⁴⁴ Wisdom is the knowledge of the reality of the things and their characters, features and provision. It is the system and organizes of the creation and to act according to it. Qur'ān said (2: 269): "He gives wisdom to whom He wills, and whoever has been given wisdom has certainly been given much good" (*Isțitāhāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, p. 83)

³⁴⁵ Al-Ghazālī, *Mizān al- 'Amal*, p. 70.

³⁴⁶ According to the Akhlāq Nāşirī of Kawjah Naşīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, the base of virtue is recognized as the moderation the virtue and the virtues are studied in the categories of genus (*ajnās*), type (*anwa'*), class (*aṣnāf*) and members (*afrād*). In fact, according to virtue, some of them are identified as genus and the rest are categorized as type, class and members. On the basis of this classification, Khawjah Ṭūsī explained fifty qualities of human virtues, See: Kawjah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (1981), *Akhlāq-e Nāsirī*, ed. Mujtabā Minūī & Haydarī, 2th ed. Tehran, Khawrazmī, p. 27; Fahrī, Magid (1991), *Ethical Theories in Islam*, Leiden, Brill, p. 133.

5.1.4 CHAPTER ONE

THE REPENTANCE (TAWBAH)

We started with repentance because it is the base and principle of the chastity (*'iffah*).

The chastity is to turn desire from required passion to necessary right thought, and to leave its devotion to win freedom. This is the perfection and modesty of bestial faculty, which is the first faculty that appeared from faculty of the soul and behaves according to the pleasure, in order to perish. Passion calls to evil, greediness, ravenousness, curmudgeon, and to change men's determination. Passion descends him to the stage of women, and covers him with shame and ugliness, and negates³⁴⁷ his honor and power, dismisses the zeal, and overcomes the security.³⁴⁸

The repentance is returning from what is forbidden, according to legislation (shar), and from what is honorably contempt by intellect including saying, practice and intention. In this regard, Ibn Abbās (my God be pleased with him) interpreted His (Allāh) Most High word: "Turn to Allāh with sincere repentance".³⁴⁹The repentance should be done with the sincere heart, in the meaning that the repentant should repent with his heart and ask orally for forgiveness. He separates from the body and mind and decides never turn back to them.

³⁴⁷ Here, it is used the word (*لبس*) two times wrongly. The second word must be (سلب), which is corrected by the researcher after referring to the copy of description. ³⁴⁸ '*Iffah* is the virtue for the faculty of passion and its control is easy for the faculty of intellect.

The indulgence of this virtue is to wanton of pleasures which are faulty according to the intellect and the side of wastage is to be lazy to achieve what is appropriate according to the intellect, as cited in Al-Ghazālī, *Mizān al- 'Amal*, p. 77. ³⁴⁹ *Al-Taḥrīm*, (66: 8).

The innocent Imām, Zayn al-'Ābidīn 'Alī Ibn Husayn (a.s)³⁵⁰ told:" The repentance is not [532] orally, rather it is returning from the sin practically".³⁵¹

The repentance is the first step of chivalry and the basis of its principles and the beginning of its path (tarīqah). A real chivalrous is one who intends to turn away from things and never go back; since, the determination of men and faculty of stability are necessary; so that chivalry could not be valid without them. Thus, repentance needs patience (sabr)³⁵² with avoiding pleasures, desires and affections.

The patience means self-imprisonment from submission and lust, and resistance against his orders.³⁵³ Allāh, the Most High said:" And no one will be granted such goodness except those who practice patient and self-restraint none but persons of the greatest good fortune".³⁵⁴There is a composition from Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s), which says:

> I saw and experienced, for patience is an end, which is praiseworthy there are a few, who seriously struggle to gain it while who requests for patience, his end is certainly victory

It (patience) leads to complacency (da'ah); in the meaning that the soul is in peace at the time of the fever of the carnality. Therefore, Allāh, the Most High, said:" Nor strain thine eves in longing for the things We have given for

³⁵⁰ Abū al-Hasan 'Alī Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abī Ṭālib known as Zayn al-'Ābidīn (38/659-93/712) was the grandson of the Muhammad (p.b.u.h).

The source of this $Had\bar{i}th$ is not found in the authentic sources and it is not mentioned in the Persian version.

³⁵² Patience in ethic means the virtue of perseverance to hold chastity and piety and to resist at time of difficulties, as cited in *Isțiliḥāt Ṣūfīyyah*, p. 246. ³⁵³ Al-Ghazālī also classified patience beneath the virtue chastity. It is the resistance of the soul

against the passion and pleasure. The lower stage if patience is to avoid complaining and the higher stage is the satisfaction ($rid\bar{a}$ '); since, the patience may be with suffering but in the stage of satisfaction, there is no pain and joy, as cited in *Mīzān al- 'Amal*, p. 82; *Iḥyā*, Vol. 4, p. 138. ³⁵⁴ *Fuṣṣilat*, (41: 35).

enjoyment to praises of them, the splendor of the life of this world, through which We test them".³⁵⁵

And it (complacency) needs dignity ($waq\bar{a}r$), which means to think to the manner of applying the wish.³⁵⁶ The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said:"The one, who deliberates harvest and worried, who hurry, makes mistake and get worried.³⁵⁷

It (dignity) needs piousness pious (*wara'*). It is to avoid from ugly things and to attend with good deeds.³⁵⁸ Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) said:" Who avoids being pious is not wise".³⁵⁹

And it (piousness) needs good conditions to love what perfects the soul.

That [good condition] requires regularity (*intizām*), which is to estimate things and to arrange them according to the interest.³⁶⁰ Amir al-Mu'minīn [533] said:"Be estimator (*muqaddar*) and do not be stingy (*muqtarra*)".³⁶¹

Regularity leads to contentment $(qan\bar{a} \, {}^{a}ah)$. It is the carefree on the manner of living and to limit oneself to the sufficient life.³⁶² The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "The wealthy person is not who possesses nonessential fortune, while who has

³⁵⁵ *Ṭāhā*, (20: 131).

³⁵⁶ Al-Ghazālī discussed this virtue as subordinate the courage. According to him, it is the mean between vanity and humility. It is the state of correct evaluation of self, as cited in *Mīzān al-'Amal*, p. 79. ³⁵⁷ Al Hartherri, Nir al Dīn *'Alī* Ibn Abī Bakr (1991). *Maima' al Tawāid wa Manha' al*-

³⁵⁷ Al-Haythamī, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Abī Bakr (1991), *Majma' al-Zawāid wa Manba' al-Fawāid*, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, Vol. 8, p. 19 and Al-Ṭabarānī Abū al-Ghāsim, Sulaymān Ibn Aḥmad, *al-Mu'jam al-Ṭabarānī al-Kabīr*, Cairo, Maktabah Ibn Taymiyyah, Vol. 17, p. 310.

³⁵⁸ This virtue is also studied as the subordinate the virtue of chastity, according to al-Ghazālī. It is the middle statues of hypocrisy and disgracing and to decorate the soul by the righteous deed and to want to perfect the soul and come to close to the Allāh without hypocrisy and reputation, as cited in $M\bar{z}an al$ -'Amal, p. 83.

³⁵⁹ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, Nahj al-Balāghah, al-Mahkamah, No: 317, p. 540.

³⁶⁰ Al-Ghazālī also discussed this virtue as subordinate the chastity. According to him, it is the condition of the soul, which leads the soul to establish harmony on what is benefited for it, as cited in $M\bar{z}a\bar{n}$ al-'Amal, p. 83.

³⁶¹ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, *al-Ḥikmah* 33, p. 474.

³⁶² Al-Ghazālī also studied it as the subordinate the chastity and means the well measure of the livelihood without loving it, as cited in $M\bar{z}a\bar{n}$ al-'Amal, p. 83.

wealthy self (*ghinā* ' *al-nafs*)".³⁶³ Amir al-Mu'minīn (a.s) asserted "It is enough to have kingdom of contentment and it is beautiful the gift of good manner."³⁶⁴

The contentment leads to freedom $(hurriyyah)^{365}$, it is the capital of chivalry and heading of the nobility and it is a he fundamental condition of both [chivalry and nobility]. Because, the youth $(fat\bar{a})$ is the one who does not worship the sensuality and does not oppress to others for his life, and is free from the bond of desires and lust. He must release from the bind of his powers and be satisfied with what Allah gave him, unrestricted by saving money to become greedy. One, who worships his desire is far from maleness (rajūliyyah) but is close to effeminacy (al-khunūthah) and a childish manner. It (freedom) is to gain fortune without contempt abusing it, and to expend it for graceful and admirable deeds lacking of duplicity and expectation. The Prophet said (p.b.u.h): "The one, who goes with his string and brings the bound firewood on his back and sells them, Allāh assume his manner, which is best for him than to be people to give him something or ban him from it."366 Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) said "Blessing for those, who conquered his soul and remedied his profits and restored his secret and improved his creation and spent surplus of his fortune and detente his tongue".³⁶⁷He (a.s) also wrote: [534]

For me moving the peaks of Rocky Mountains is preferable than requesting people's grace.

³⁶³ Al- Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, Bāb al-ghanī, 11/327, No: 6446 and Tarmadhī, *Sunan al-Tarmadhī*, Vol. 4, p. 507.5, p. 340.

³⁶⁴ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, Nahj al-Balāghah, al-Hikmah, No: 229, p. 508.

³⁶⁵ It is to break to be slave of others and it has different levels as the popular freedom, which is to be free from the slavery of the lust and the particularly freedom that is the annihilation of his will to the Allāh's will and the private freedom that is to be free from rituals and effects and to annihilate in the manifestation of the light of lights, as cited in *Istilāhāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, p. 82. ³⁶⁶ Al Bultbārī, Schāh al Bultbārī, Vol. 2, p. 152

³⁶⁶ Al- Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Vol. 2, p. 152.

³⁶⁷ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, Nahj al-Balāghah, al-Hikmah 123, p. 490.

It (freedom) needs nobility (*muruwwah*), it is to avoid from lusts and needless of people, and to despair from what they possess and to preserve his dignity, to give what normally benefits him so that he will be free from dishonor. Allāh, the Most High, revealed to David³⁶⁸:"Oh, David! Be friend only to those, whose nobility and religion is completed."

And the perfection of nobility is generosity, which is the ultimate chastity and its finality.

5.1.5 CHAPTER TWO

GENEROSITY (SAKHĀ')

Generosity is to give benefit from what is necessary to the proper person in the manner without hurting, without expectation and intension, and to not expect any praise and commendation. It is the ultimate rank of chastity and the higher stage of it (chastity) is its end [of generosity], which is the last step for the chivalrous one. If the chivalrous possesses generosity as a characteristic, so he holds all kinds of chastity;³⁶⁹ thus, he deserves to be praised and venerated and proceeds to adhere. Allāh, the Most High, said: "And those saved from the covetousness of their own souls- they are the ones that achieve prosperity".³⁷⁰The Prophet (p.b.u.h) asserted: "I love the generous ignorant more than greedy pious."³⁷¹ And

 ³⁶⁸ David was a king, whose kingdom was strong and greater. He was righteous ruler and brought peace and prosperity to his people and Allāh honored him messenger. See: Woodhall, Ruth (2008), *Stories of the prophets in the Holy Koran*, USA, Tughra Books, p. 80.
 ³⁶⁹ Al-Ghazālī studied this virtue as the subordinate the virtue of chastity. It is the statue between

³⁶⁹ Al-Ghazālī studied this virtue as the subordinate the virtue of chastity. It is the statue between prodigality and frugality. It means to give easily and to prevent to have something before to achieve the merit of having it, as cited in *Mīzān al-'Amal*, p. 82; Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh* in: *Rasāil Jawān Mardān*, Corrected by Murtidā Ṣarrāf (1993), Tehran, Mu'īn Publ., 2th ed. p. 96. ³⁷⁰ Al-Hashr, (59: 9).

³⁷¹ Tarmadhī, Sunan al-Tarmadhī, Vol. 4, p. 302.

Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) said: "The one, who gives in the time of indigence, will give in the time of wealthy."³⁷²

The lowest stage of generosity is remission (musāmahah) that is to abstain willingly from the wealth, which is unnecessary to keep it.³⁷³ As Allāh, the Most High, said "If the debtor is in a difficulty, grant him time till it is easy for him to repay. But if ye remit it by way of charity, that is best for you if ye only knew."³⁷⁴[535]

The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said: "Those, who consider the poor or fix his problem, Allāh will put them under His throne's shade in the Last Day; the Day, there is no shade except His."³⁷⁵

Thereupon, it is magnanimity (samāhah) that is to grant, what is pointless to give in the way of grace. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said: "Magnanimity is profit."³⁷⁶ And Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) said "Be magnanimous and do not be a squanderer."377

Furthermore, it is equality (*muwāsāt*), that is to spend money to help friends in as much as to share with them what is assigned to them. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "The blessing of fortune is by giving Islamic tax $(zak\bar{a}t)^{378}$ and equality of believers (*mu'minīn*) and relationship with relatives.³⁷⁹

³⁷² 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, Nahj al-Balāghah, Hikmah, p. 509.

³⁷³ Al-Ghazālī studied also this virtue as subordinate the faculty of chastity. It is to pass up willingly from some of his own right. It is a mean between conflict and claim for his right and negligence to obtain it (Mīzān al- 'Amal, p. 82).

 ³⁷⁴ Al-Baqarah, (2: 280).
 ³⁷⁵ This narrative could be found in various forms in different sources: al Kāfī, Vol. 8, p. 9; al-Mustadrak, Vol. 2, p. 29 and Musnad Ahmad, Vol. 2, p. 359.

³⁷⁶ Musnad al-Shihāb, p. 23; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al- Suyūțī, Jalāl al-Dīn, Al-Durra al-Muntatharah Fī al- Ahādīth al--Mushtaharah, Tahqīq Muḥammad Ibn Luṭfī al-Sabāgh, Al-Riyaz, Jāmiʿah al-Malak Su'ūd, p. 96 (shamela.ws/index.php/book/21542).

³⁷⁷ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, *al-Hikmah* 33, p. 474.

³⁷⁸ Islamic law, through which Muslims have to give a fix portion of their wealth to charity.

³⁷⁹ This *Hadīth* is not found in authentic references.

Moreover, it is magnificence (*karam*) that is to grant easily and cheerfully.³⁸⁰ As the Allāh, the Most High, said "And the likeness of those who spend their substance, seeking to please Allāh and to strengthen their souls, is as a garden, high and fertile: heavy rain falls on it but makes it yield a double increase of harvest".³⁸¹And Mīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) stated "Graces imposed predestination."³⁸²

The next one is being magnanimous (*al-nabl*) that is to give while you enjoy.³⁸³

Further [sub-quality] is preference $(al-ith\bar{a}r)$.³⁸⁴ It is to grant, while you need it. Allāh, the Most High, said "But give them preference over themselves, even through poverty was their (own too)."³⁸⁵ It is the entirety of honor and greatest situation, the best outcome of character, and the summit of sublimity, according to the people of chivalry. Through it (preference), their destiny will be preceded and their steps will take the lead, and they will despise all virtues [536] except [the stage] of precedence, and disdain every trait excluding it. One, who achieves it, attains the great bowl and the one, who succeeds with it, succeeds the higher joy.

³⁸⁰ Al-Ghazālī discussed this virtue as the first subordinated virtue to courage. According to him, magnificence is the middle stage between lavishness and spender. It is to spend gladly for things of high merit and the great public usefulness. It can also call as freedom (*hurriyyah*) (*Mizān al-*'*Amal*, p. 78). Suhrawardī distinguished *karam* from *sakhā*'. According to him, who is Sakhī is not necessary being Karīm; since, the one who is Karīm give without any expectation; however, the level of sincerity of Karīm is lower than the Sakhī; thus, the Sakhī sometimes considers the reward (Suhrawardī, Futuwwat Nāmeh, p. 97).

³⁸¹ Al-Baqarah, (2: 265).

³⁸² 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, Nahj al-Balāghah, Hikmah 224, p. 508.

³⁸³ Al-Ghazālī classified this virtue as subordinate to courage. It is the happiness of the soul at time of giving, as cited in *Mizān al-'Amal*, p. 79.

³⁸⁴ It is to sacrifice for others from what belongs to you or you need it, as cited in *Isțilāḥāt al-Sufiyyah*, p. 256.

⁸⁸⁵ Al-<u>H</u>ashr, (59: 9).

Hudhayfah al-'Adawī stated "I left at the day of *al-Yarmūk*³⁸⁶ looking for my cousin, I took some water with me and told to myself, if he still breaths, I will water him and wipe his face with it. Then as I found him, I asked him: Do you want me to give you drink? He mentioned to me: Yes! Then a man says: Ah! Them my cousin said to me: let go to him. He was Hishām Ibn 'Āş. So, I asked him: Do you want me to give to drink? Hishām heared the other (one) says: Ah! Then he said: Let go to him. And when I turned to him, he was dead. Then I returned to Hishām, but he was already dead. And as I came back to my cousin, I found him dead too.³⁸⁷

There are uncountable stories about sacrifice; however, I preferred to choose and write the short one.

5.1.6 CHAPTER THREE

HUMILITY (TAWĀĻU')

Humility³⁸⁸ is the first quality of courage's characteristic. It is to direct anger toward a necessary, correct notion, and to have a clear mind by acting bravely in the state of fears and occurrence of misfortune and difficulties. Allāh, the Most High, said "And their Lord hath accepted of them, and answered them and those, who left their homes or been driven out therefore, or suffered harm in My Cause,

³⁸⁶ The Battle of *Yarmuk* is a major battle between the Muslim and the armies of the Eastern Roman Empire. See: Nicolle, David (2009), *The Great Islamic Conquests AD 632-750*, USA, Ospery Publishing, p. 49-51. The story of this battle can be also found in: Al- Tabarī, *Tārikh al-Tabarī*, Vol. 4, p. 28; Ibn al-Athir, *Al-kāmil Fi al-Tārikh*, Vol.2, p. 200.

 $^{^{387}}$ *PTIKF*: The perfection of scarify is according to the eternal welfare; since, for the possessor of the chivalry the entire worldly goodness are finite and do not worth for him. It is quoted that 'Alī (a.s) preceded people to greet them for forty years and did not let anyone to overtake him in this regard. He was asked about the reason. He quoted from the Prophet (p.b.u.h) that precession to greeting has great reward. I collected that reward untill today but now I am giving up that reward to be collected by others.

³⁸⁸ It is the behavior of the human as a slave and his submission to Allāh's order and His rule (*Isțilāhāt al-Şūfiyyah*, p. 260).

or fought or been slain-verily, I will blot out from their iniquities."³⁸⁹ And the Prophet (p.b.u.h) said: "Allāh loves courage even that which made kills a snake".³⁹⁰The courage is the completion and moderation of an aminal power that seeks for fame, inclines toward subjugation and power leading by exaggeration towards arrogance, exaggerate toward vanity, hatred and temerity or by negligence leads toward fright, weakness, fear and disappointment, all which brought away man's perfection and his dignity perfection and his glory go and detract his greatness and majesty, and disdain his worth and despise his mind.³⁹¹

Humility, however, is to respect people of virtues, from relatives and brothers, to someone who is financially lower than him, but his honor and virtue is the same or even more than his. Everyone is given dignity (by Allāh), according to his degree. Humility is because of considering less the right of the soul and lack of interest toward its importance and effects. Allāh, the Most High, said "And lower thy wing to the Believers who follow thee."³⁹²And Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "There is no one, who behaves modesty (537) before people for Allāh, unless He will raise him".³⁹³ 'Alī (a.s) also asserted "Ornament of believers is humility."³⁹⁴

³⁸⁹ *Āli 'Imrān*, (3: 195).

³⁹⁰ This narrative is cited by Ibn 'Arabī in *Futūhāt al-Makkiyah*, Vol. 20, chapter 36: The knowledge of Christians, their genealogy and principles.

³⁹¹ According to al-Ghazālī, courage is the middle stage between two vices as temerity and fear. The temerity is the side of indulgence and the man does something, which is not approved by the intellect. However, feat is the side of wastage and the man does not do something, which its performance is necessary and here the grade of the man's anger is reduced of its necessary level. Yet, the man with the character of virtues is the one who act, where has to be done an action and knows how to act, as the Quran said: "Muhammad is the Messenger of Allāh ; and those with him are forceful against the disbelievers, merciful among themselves." *Fath*, (48: 29). See: *Mizān al-'Amal*, p. 71.

 $^{^{392}}$ Al-Shu'arā', (26: 215).

³⁹³ Tarmadhī, *Sunan al-Tarmadhī*, Vol. 4, p. 330, No; 2029 and Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, Vol. 7, p. 310; Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā al- 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol 1, p. 46; Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 97.

³⁹⁴ Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, Vol. 77, p. 120.

It (humility) needs gentleness (*al-hilm*) that is serenity of soul, and to leave trouble in the time of anger.³⁹⁵

The friendliness (*al-rifq*), toleration (*al-mudārāh*) and other tender treatments are close to it. It needs lack of thoughtlessness, that is to deliberate by arguments and legality of wars. As Allāh, the Most High, said "Fight in the cause of Allāh those who fight you, but do not transgress limits."³⁹⁶ And Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) said "The exaggeration in argument is a sin."³⁹⁷

Stability (*al-thubāt*) is the power of resistance against suffering and difficulties.³⁹⁸ Allāh, the Most High, said "How many of the prophets fought and with them large bands of Godly men? But they never lost heart if they met with disaster in Allāh's way, nor they did weaken nor give in. And Allāh loves those who are firm and steadfast."³⁹⁹

The stability is a part of patience to which Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) mentioned "Patience has twofold, patience to what you hate and patience to what you like."⁴⁰⁰

And it requires the possibility of hard work, in the meaning that to endure bodily ills, soul's problems and to suffer the limbs of body for gaining good deeds and benefaction. Allāh, the Most High, said "And those, who strive in Our cause, We will certainly guide them to Our Path."⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁵ Al-Ghazālī also studied gentleness as subordinate the courage. It is the mean between impatience and lethargy, which give the soul the state of dignity, as cited in $M\bar{z}an al$ -'Amal, p. 79.

³⁹⁶ Al-Baqarah, (2: 190).

³⁹⁷ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, Nahj al-Balāghah, al-Hikmah 298, p. 528.

³⁹⁸ Al-Ghazālī also discussed this virtue as subordinate the courage. According to him, it is the intensity of the soul and its avoidance from the weakness, as cited in $M\bar{z}an al$ -'Amal, p. 79. ³⁹⁹ $\bar{A}li$ 'Imrān, (3: 146).

⁴⁰⁰ Nahj al-Balāghah, al-Hikmah: 52; Tha'ālabī, al-Tamthīl wa al-Muhādirah (1981), Studied by
'Abd al-Fattāh Muhammad, p. 415.

⁴⁰¹ *Al- 'Ānkabūt*, (21: 69).

It (humility) needs sagacity (*al-shahāmah*) that is to strive for great matters and sorts of glory and nobleness, which deserve graceful memory.⁴⁰² The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said:"Allāh loves noble things and its supervision and hates its inferior."⁴⁰³[538]

The bounty requires magnitude of the soul (*kibar al-nafs*); it means to despise prosperity and ability to take nobility and humbleness. Allāh, the Most High, said "Say: The enjoyment of this world is short."⁴⁰⁴

Amīr al-Mu'minīn declared "The one, who magnifies his soul, his passion becomes less important to him."⁴⁰⁵

It (magnitude) needs forgiveness (*'afw*), because the great soul does not effected distress by the distress neither by the mischief of others and the gravity of their crimes is not heavy for him. The forgiveness is to leave the revenge in the time of power. ⁴⁰⁶Allāh, the Most High, said "Who restrain anger, and pardon (all) men: for Allāh loves those who do good."⁴⁰⁷The Prophet (p.b.u.h) stated "Do not be like opportunists, who says be nice to people who treat you with kindness; but if they deal badly, macerate them, but to get used to treat people nice if they act well and if they treat badly do not oppress them."⁴⁰⁸

Forgiveness is among the major quality of people of chivalry and the the great part which they are special with and pioneer with it. Forgiveness needs gentleness (*al-riqqah*), which means to feel sympathy if human beings get hurt without any disturbance. The possessor of gentleness protects man from harm,

⁴⁰² Al-Ghazālī also studied this virtue beneath the courage and defined it as the interest to do things that expects the beauty, as cited in $M\bar{z}an al$ - 'Amal, p. 79.

⁴⁰³ Al- Qaā'ī, *Musnad al-Shihāb*, Vol. 2, p. 150, 1076-1077and Al-Tabarī, al-*Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, Vol. 3, p. 131, 2894.

⁴⁰⁴ *Al-Nisā*', (4: 77).

⁴⁰⁵ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, Nahj al-Balāghah, al-Hikmah 449, p. 555.

⁴⁰⁶ Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 97.

⁴⁰⁷ *Āli 'Imrān*, (4: 134).

⁴⁰⁸ Tarmadī, *Sunan al-Tarmadī*, Vol. 4, p. 320; Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā al- Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 3, p. 155.

pardons them for their sins, and removes the trouble from them as far as possible, pulling away their loss as long as he can. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "The compassion, friendship and affection between believers are like a body, if a limb hurts, other limbs will associate in fever and insomnia."⁴⁰⁹

The gentleness is followed by the enthusiasm (*al-hamiyyah*), it is to protect creed and honor for himself and his neighbors and brothers from accusation, and to drive away from the tribe completely. To them, the Prophet (p.b.u.h) ordered, as he said "Fear of being in the position of accession."⁴¹⁰[539]

The enthusiasm is one of the chivalrous' special attitudes, manners, and noble characters of behavior. They bear the labors and fears, but without enthusiasm, they commit in danger, they leave luxury and wealth and they protect it by giving them generously and they do not get worry of their disappearance and loss.

The enthusiasm needs great endeavor (*al-himmah*), that is lack of consideration to earthly happiness and its misfortune, even sins, while getting lasting noble rewards, as Allāh, the Most High, told Moses "Be sure I will cut off your hands and your feet on opposite sides, and I will cause you all to die on the cross." They said "No matter! For us, we shall but return to our Lord!"⁴¹¹ This is not possible except in the state of security, by which the quality of courage completed and limit of endeavor reach its end. And, with Allāh, the Helper!

⁴⁰⁹ Al- Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Vol. 8, p. 12

⁴¹⁰ AL-Ghazālī, *Ihyā* ' '*Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 3, p. 31.

⁴¹¹ Al-Shu'arā', (26: 49-50).

5.1.7 CHAPTER FOUR

SECURITY (AMN)

Security is self confidence and the peacefulness of the soul, so the man does not feel worried by fear and does not lose courage. Allāh, the Most High, said "Those are truly in security, for they are on [right] guidance."⁴¹² It is also called assistance (*al-najadah*). It could not be attained unless it is with the ability of certainty and knowing the secret of determination and trusting the perfect preservation of Allāh, the Most High, and His guard, refraining from the power of man while he is under His (Allāh) protection and power. The virtue of courage is not completed and settled, unless through it; since, the doubtful one is confused and the suspicious is not stable. Those, whose heart do not attach the knowledge of certainty and do not be touched by Allāh, the Most High, through a solid cord, their steps cannot be stable in difficulties and fears and in the battle with wish and desire; rather, he will be afraid of every weak man, and will escape from every villainous person. Without security and belief, he will consider every shout as an enemy attacking him and will find every thorn like sword to be harsh. As before it is told:

"[Even the land seemed to fight with him] He saw anything, and thinks it comes to kill him"⁴¹³

The one who is sure about the words of Allāh, the Most High, which says "Verify, for all things has Allāh appointed a due proportion",⁴¹⁴ and thinks about

و ضاقت الأرض حتى كان هاربهم اذا رأى غير شىء ظنّه رجلا ⁴¹⁴ Al-Ţalāq, (65: 3).

⁴¹² Al-An 'ām, (6: 82).

⁴¹³ Al-Matnabī, Abī al-Ţayyib, *Dīwān Matnabī*, p. 14. (*al-hakawati.net/arabic/civilizations/diwanindex4a3.pdf*) The complete verse is:

the meaning of His (Allāh) word "Every [540] single thing is before His sight, in (due) proportion"⁴¹⁵ and considers His (Allāh) word "For each period is a book (revealed)".⁴¹⁶He is aware that life is limited and cannot be extended, and that the time of death is estimated and destiny is decreed, so he is not afraid except of Him (Allāh). Everyone is afraid of him; while he is not afraid of any one, and one who is not afraid of the Allāh, no one is afraid of him.

It is quoted from al-Hatim al-Asam (a.s), who met Shaqiq al-Balkhi $(a.s)^{417}$ in an invasion against pagans in Khurāsān;⁴¹⁸ where he was in the battlefield, as Shaqīq asked him "Hātim! How do you find your heart?" He answered "like weddings night, it is not difference between these two cases."⁴¹⁹

Then, Shaqīq said "So, it is enough for me", and then he throws his gun and put his head on his shield and went to sleep so that you can hear his snore.⁴²⁰

So, this is the security, peacefulness, certainty, and baring the cover by obvious light. The courage dose not stay away from him, if he follows it (security), and it makes no difference except it gives him security. And, the owner of security believes in the meaning of His (Allāh) word, the Most High, that says "Nothing will happen to us except what Allah has decreed for us..."⁴²¹He befalls for one of two glorious things and he is free to dishonor. "But Allāh doth support with His aid whom He pleaseth."422

⁴¹⁵ *Al-Ra* '*d*, (13: 8).

⁴¹⁶ *Al-Ra* '*d*, (13: 38).

⁴¹⁷ Abū Hāmid Ahmad Ibn Khadrawiyyah Balkhī (d. 194/810).

⁴¹⁸ It is a historical region lying in the northeast of Iran. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the term "Khurāsān" frequently had a much wider denotation, covering parts of Central Asia and Afghanistan.

It is also quoted by al-Ghazālī in Ihyā al- 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 1, Kitāb al- 'Ilm.

⁴²⁰ Al-Qushayrī, Al-Risālah, p. 54.

⁴²¹ Al-Tawbah, (9: 51).

⁴²² Āli 'Imrān, 13.

5.1.8 CHAPTER FIVE

TRUTH (*SIDQ*)

The truth⁴²³ is the lower stage of wisdom and its basis. The wisdom is the virtues of ability of speech and its perfection. The feature of speech is to inform others from what is happening, and through this character the human is distinguished from other living creatures and is superior to the entire existence. When the man does not match to what appears as his feature and it has no benefit, then he is like an animal.⁴²⁴And, because he found a belief different from conformity, he is even more misguided and weaker than an animal. So, we cannot attest him as human; therefore, 'Alī (a.s) said "The liar is not noble".⁴²⁵[541]

This is the meaning of wisdom (*al-hikmah*), the knowledge of existence as it is and to exactly define the proper aspects of actions in the manner it should be done. Allāh, the Most High, said "And he to whom wisdom is granted receives the indeed a benefit overflowing".⁴²⁶

The truth is either in intention or word or action. The "Truth in Intention" is the sincerity of intention to Allāh, the Most High, when he started to act; as long as it does not mix with other intentions except for Allāh, and [as long as] it is not for greed and it is not corrupted by duplicity and hypocrisy. And, [as long as] it does not seek any other fame, reputation, commendation and praise, and does not aspire to any exchange and reward and does not expect any gratification in return. For, anyone will disprove the nobility and dishonor the chivalry, if he does not act except for [satisfaction] Allāh and to gain the Allāh's right in every action and

⁴²³ It is the truth of the intention the traveler in the path of sanctity (*Walāyah*), as cited in Kāshānī, *Isțilāhāt al-Şūfiyyah*, p. 254.

Adapted from Qur'ān, al-A'rāf, (7: 179).

⁴²⁵ Majlisī, *Bahār al-Anwār*, Vol. 78, p. 54.

⁴²⁶ Al-Baqarah, (2: 179) and Al-Ghazālī, Mizān al- 'Amal, p. 70.

labor. And, he must direct Allāh's attention and not intend to act except for Allāh. Allāh, the Most High, said "...So, stand true to Him..."⁴²⁷

However, "The Truth in Word" is that to speak, according to the fact. Allāh, the Most High, said "Truly, Allāh is with truthful (*ṣādiqīn*)" Nothing is as big a burden to the chivalrous as a lie; since, it is like ladies' menstruation for men and it is the worst thing that a man can do.

However, "The Truth in Action" is not to do things in secret which he is ashamed to do it in public, nor to avoid doing thing secretly while he It is to forbear to act secretly when he cannot do it in apparent. His outward does not opposed his inward; rather, his inside and outside are the same, so that if his actions are displayed to the the world, he would not be annoyed and he would not wish to cover up some of them. What an excellent step is the truth! It has sublime benefit and right. Allāh, the Most High, said "But he should warn mankind [of their danger], and give the good news to the Believers that they have before the Lord the lofty rank of truth."⁴²⁸ And He said "In assembly of Truth, in the Presence of a sovereign Omnipotent."⁴²⁹ Thus, the one who does not speak the truth does feel any delight of chivalry; rather, for him nobility is worthless. The one, who is accustomed to the truth will open the door of whole goodness, pushing back every harm. He is prepared for every happiness and perfection, and is protected from all misfortune and state.

It (truth) needs pureness (al-safa). It is enlightenment of the heart (al-sadr) and it's relaxation for acceptance by the invisible form. Allah, the Most High,

⁴²⁷ *Fussilat*, (41: 6).

⁴²⁸ Yūnus, (10: 2).

⁴²⁹ Al- Qamar, (54: 55).

said "Is one whose heart Allāh has opened to Islam, so that he has received Enlightenment from Allāh."⁴³⁰[542]

It (pureness) needs excellent understanding (*fahm*) and intelligence (*dhakā'*), mind (*lub*), and cleverness with discernment (*fițnah*). Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) said "The one who is enlightened by discernment, the wisdom will be appearing for him".⁴³¹

The mind needs remembrance and memorization. Allāh, the Most High said "But none will grasp the message but men of understanding."⁴³² "And that ears (that should hear the tale) retain its memory and should bear its (lesson) in remembrance."⁴³³

It is quoted from 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan, when this verse is descended, the Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "O, 'Alī! I asked Allāh to set it as your ears. 'Alī (a.s) said "I did not forget anything after that and it would be impossible for me to forget something."⁴³⁴

It [mind] needs guidance that is the ultimate wisdom. Allāh is the leader.

⁴³⁰ Al-Zumar, (39: 22).

⁴³¹ The narrative is founded with a bit different in: 'Alī Ibn Abī Țqlibm, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, *al-Hikmah* 31, p. 473 and Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, Vol. 68, p. 348.

⁴³² *Al-Baqarah*, (2: 269).

⁴³³₄₂₄ Al- Hāqqah, (69: 12).

⁴³⁴ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, Nahj al-Balāghah, al-Hikmah 132.

5.1.9 CHAPTER SIX

GUIDANCE (*HIDĀYAH*)

It (guidance) is the opening of vision through Allāh's grant, and painting it (vision) by the light of confirmation, in order to see what is demanded. Allāh, the Most High, said "For such He has written Faith in their hearts and strengthened them with a spirit from Himself."⁴³⁵

The guidance, here, means the knowledge of certainty ('ilm al-yaqīn) abundant to the slave (al-'abd) through serenity immediately after discernment [intellect] and reasoning. Thus, the end of wisdom does not pass its utmost and does not ascend beyond the stage of vision of certainty ('yan al-yaqīn) and truth of certainty (haqq al-yaqīn); since, they are from the field of self-revelation. and a powerful world. No one can attain it except the one who possesses sanctity (walāyah).

Guidance is divided in two parts:

First, it is the guidance to knowledge of Allāh and belief in His existence and His unification ($tawh\bar{t}d$), and devotion to Him and to know His attributes and actions and His prophets and friends and His special and sincere friends.[543]

Second, it is guidance to His orders from obligation, what is recommended, forbidden, permissible, detestable and forbidden, and guidance to honored, virtues, excellent characters, merits, praiseworthy ethics and beautiful qualities. The guidance does not detract from the nobility and religion by blameworthy conduct, ugly actions and bad habits. It beautifies the young boy and honors him with the praised conduct, desirable qualities, sublime manner, and satisfies excellence.

⁴³⁵ *Al-Mujādalah*, (58: 22).

This necessitates right thought and depth of opinion, appropriate saying and right actions. And, this is the valid condition of straightness. Allāh, the Most High, refers to it: "Therefore stand firm (in the straight path) as thou art commanded, thou and those who with thee turn (unto Allāh)"⁴³⁶

Since he (the Prophet (p.b.u.h) was assigned to these affairs with addition: a) [first] to the matter of states (*al-aḥwāl*) and witnesses (*al-mushāhadāt*), as Allāh, the Most High, described it by being straight in it: "(His) sight never swerved, nor did it go wrong."⁴³⁷ And, b) [second] the latter is the matter of legislation and provision. As Allāh, the Most High, orders him "If thou judge, judge in equity between them, for Allāh loveth those, who judge in equity".⁴³⁸

Thus, the holder of chivalry demands the perseverance of the action for the sake of Allāh ('amal lī Allāh) and for Allāh ('amal fī Allāh). And, the possessor of the sanctity requires it for the sake of Allāh ('amal lī Allāh) and for Allāh ('amal fī Allāh) and for Allāh ('amal fī Allāh) and through Allāh ('amal bī Allāh), [while] the holder of prophecy ($nub\bar{u}wwah$), who is different from the two appears [his action] from Allāh (min Allāh) and of Allāh ('an Allāh) and toward Allāh (ilā Allāh) in addition to all these qualities. If Allāh, the Most High, does not kindly grant the guidance to the chivalry, he is not able to win the character of chivalry's qualities and cannot have courage and chastity; since the chivalry cannot be acquired accept with correct faith ($al-itiq\bar{a}d al-sah\bar{n}h$) and clear reality ($al-haq al-sar\bar{n}h$). If the faith is damaged, the steps will shake; since, the certainty is the spirit of action, and how does body move without spirit? This is a gift and special care from Allāh, the Most High, which He gives to someone, whom He (Allāh) wants.

⁴³⁶ *Hūd*, (11: 112).

⁴³⁷ Al-Najm, (53: 17).

⁴³⁸ Al-Mā'idah, (5: 42).

It is the trust that is entrusted in his essence at covenant and He (All $\bar{a}h$) will ask for it at the time of meeting, as the Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Truly, Allāh, the Most High, created His creation in darkness, then shined them from His light; whoever gained that light is leaded and whoever missed it is misled.⁴³⁹[544]

5.1.10 CHAPTER SEVEN

ADVICE (NASĪHAH)

Advice is the principle of justice's light and its key, and the structure of trust and its column. The justice is the spiritual form of exposure of the self in order to reconcile between these faculties, and it is the social form for whole virtues.⁴⁴⁰ Thus, it is the most noble of virtues. Therefore, when Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) was asked about justice and generosity, "which one is better?" he answered that the justice places things in their position and the generosity depart things from their direction. The justice is a general policy, while generosity is a specific accidental exception form and justice is preferable and nobler than them (justice and advice).⁴⁴¹ Thereof, the Prophet (p.b.u.h) is sent in order to complete the noble traits. Allah, the Most High, has shined through revelation to his tongue: "I am commanded to judge justly between you..."442

The advice (*al-nasīhah*) is the will of goodness toward people and to awake them by the method of rightness and justify, and to motivate them to what is beneficial for them and to keep them away from what is harmful for them, as the

⁴³⁹ Ibn 'Arabī, Futūhāt al-Makiyyah, 'Uthmān Ismāīl Yahyā, Vol. 2; Maybudī (1997), Kashf al-Asrār, studied by 'Alī Aşghar Hikmat, 6th ed., Vol. 1, p. 570; Musnad Ahmad, 11:219 and Al-Naysabūrī (1998), *Al-Mustadrak 'Alā al-Ṣaḥīḥīn*, Beirut, Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1:84. ⁴⁴⁰ Al-Ghazālī: Courage is the status of order of harmony of three virtues as wisdom, courage and

chastity. It is not a virtue; rather it is whole of the virtue, as cited in Mīzān al-'Amal, p. 74. ⁴⁴¹ Nahj al-Balaghah, al-Hikmah: 262.

⁴⁴² Al- Shūrā', (42: 15).

Prophet Hūd said to his tribe when he called them to his Lord:"I am to you a sincere and trustworthy adviser."⁴⁴³

They (justice and advice) need trustworthiness (*amānah*). It is the perseveration of the trust and secrets; it is to return the trust to its owner and to protect the secrets from aliens, and to refuse to change affairs from the path of rightness. The disorder of these qualities will discredit the nobility. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Those, who do not have trustworthiness, have no nobility."⁴⁴⁴

The compassion (*shafaqah*) endeavors to remove the detested things from people. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Each of you is the mirror of your brother; thus, if you realized that he is at risk, you must to stop it".⁴⁴⁵ And he said "The believer is the mirror of the believer";⁴⁴⁶ since, whenever he observes others he will reserve [545] his capacity, and he will prettify his state and he will come close to other with bounty and mercy." These [two qualities] are the will towards perfection and goodness for others, in an effort to have them attains these qualities. Allāh, the Most High, described His prophet "To the Believers, he is most kind and merciful."⁴⁴⁷The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Allāh have mercy upon who are merciful; thus, be merciful to the people in the earth until people on the heaven are merciful to you."⁴⁴⁸

The mercifulness requires connection to relatives (*silah al-raḥim*). It is to share the earthly benefits with kin. Allāh, the Most High, said "To spend of your substance, out of love for Him, for your kin".⁴⁴⁹ The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said

⁴⁴³ Al-A 'rāf, (7: 68).

⁴⁴⁴ The similar narrative (He, who does not have trustworthiness, has not faith) is found in: *Musnad Ahmad*, 1:135.

⁴⁴⁵ Al- Tarmadhī, Sunan al-Tarmadhī, 1: 287, No:1929; Suhrawardī, 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, p. 82.

⁴⁴⁶ Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, Vol 74, p. 268; Ibn Athīr, *Al-Kāmil al-Tārīkh*, 2:306.

⁴⁴⁷ Al-Tawbah, (9: 128).

⁴⁴⁸ Al- Tarmadhī, Sunan al-Tarmadhī, 1: 350; Musnad Ahmad, 2:165.

⁴⁴⁹ *Al-Baqarah*, (2: 177).

"Among what is commanded by Allāh the sooner rewards will be given to those who connects to relatives."⁴⁵⁰

It is also needed to keep intermediate between enemies (*işlāhţ dhāt albBayyin*), which is to mediate between people and between opponents for what makes them fight. Allāh, the Most High, said "Keep the straight the relations between yourselves."⁴⁵¹ This is a special [quality] and established only for the people of the chivalry, so they pay penalties and carry wergild and gifts, and accept considerable funds to satisfy the opponents and guarantee the forgotten goods, and spent what they have earned. They take responsibility for what they lost in order to remove fear and attain the friendship, while the enmity and hatred are of disgusting devilry: This is the ultimate farness from Allāh, the Most High.

It (the reconciling between enemies) necessitates good participation (*husn al-shirkah*), it is balance in his in his interaction with human beings. Allāh, the Most High, said "Woe to those that deal in fraud. Those who, when they have to receive by measure from men, exact full measure. But when they have to give by measure or weight to men, give less than due."⁴⁵²

[It also necessitates] fairness to himself $(ins\bar{a}f)$ and to act justly with others $(intis\bar{a}f)$. First: [The former means] fulfillment of the right of financial dignity, saying and acting to those who deserve. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "May Allāh have mercy upon those, who are just."⁴⁵³[546]

And second: [The latter means] to fulfill those rights for him and others, who necessitate it (to give this right) and the right that they deserve. Allāh, the

⁴⁵⁰ Al- Qaḍāʿī, *Musnad al-Shihāb*, 1:16, Suyūţī, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Durr al-Manthūr Fī al-Tafsīr bi al-Ma'thūr*, 2: 45.

⁴⁵¹ Al-Anfāl, (8: 1).

⁴⁵² Al- Muțaffifin, (83: 1-2-3).

⁴⁵³ The narrative is not found in the authentic sources.

Most High, said "And those who when an oppressive wrong is inflicted on them, (are not cowed but) help and defend themselves."⁴⁵⁴

The one, who is not characterized by these three qualities (good participation, fairness to himself and to act justly with others) is unable to reconcile between people. And, his words will not be effective in this relation, and his effort will not attain his goal; since, every word, which is not supported by the action, is nonsense, and every action which does not appear for the case, is dust.

It (reconcile between people) necessitates reward (*al-mukāfa'ah*), while, it is to reward a good thing (*al-iḥsān*), with similar reward or more, but if he is unable to give similar or more, then reward it what he could. Allāh, the Most High, said "When a (courteous) greeting is offered you, meet it with a greeting still more courteous, or (at least) of equal account."⁴⁵⁵ The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Better is known to reward like for like; however, if it was not possible, then mention about him because by mentioning him, you thanks him."⁴⁵⁶

[It also needs] excellent judgment (*al-husn al-qadā'*): It is to refrain from receiving any benefit and to regret on the reward. Allāh, the Most High, said "Is there any reward for good other than good?"⁴⁵⁷

These two qualities (reward and excellent judgment) bring out friendship ($tawadd\bar{u}d$). The friendship is to seek closeness of the mate, companion and the people of virtues and those who had inclination to closeness among nobles with something that could gain their love, such as by good encounter and leave. And, it is [to have] a happy face at the time of their presence, and to socialize their

⁴⁵⁴ Al-Shūrā', (42: 39).

⁴⁵⁵ Al-Nisā', (4: 86).

⁴⁵⁶ Al-Durar al-Manthūr, 6: 362.

⁴⁵⁷ *Al-Raḥmān*, (55: 60).

company and to eat with them and to give them presents and gifts, as the Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Those, who exchange gifts they strength their friendship."⁴⁵⁸ He [also] said "Truly it is a good thing to meet your friends with a cheerful face."⁴⁵⁹ He also said "The friendship is half of mind".⁴⁶⁰The friendship leads to intimacy (*al-ulfah*). The familiarity is unity of ideas in assisting for earning a living and organizing [547] people in order to unite desire in seeking the purpose and considering the direction. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "The believer is friendly and being intimated."⁴⁶¹

It (intimacy) inherits the sincere friendship (*sadāqah*). The sincere friendship means love based on the harmony of spirits in eternity, which is called brotherhood (*ukhuwwah*). The supreme Allāh, the Most High, said "The believers are brothers."⁴⁶²

The brotherhood (*al-ikhwānīyyah*) is the glorious gate of chivalry and the foundation of its structure and the basis of its affair, because the chivalry is grounded on it (brotherhood), and its banner will not fix without being brothers with each other (*al-mu'ākhkhāh*). Therefore, the preceding is called brother (*akhī*); and their pole and the precious master, 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s) said "The most week person is someone, who is unable taking friends and the weaker than him is the one, who lose them (his friend) after he was won them".⁴⁶³

I swear that it (brotherhood) is the best and most beautiful way for people, the interest of religion and the world is related to it, and the maximum happiness

⁴⁵⁸ Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'al-'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 2, p. 42.

⁴⁵⁹ Suhrawardī, 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, in the margin of Ihyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 3, p. 54.

⁴⁶⁰ Mjlisī, *Bahār al-Anwār*, Vol. 1, p. 224 and *idem*, Vol. 71, p. 349.

⁴⁶¹ Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'al-'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 2, p. 156.

⁴⁶² *Al-Hujurāt*, (49: 10).

⁴⁶³ This Hadith is quoted from 'Alī by Zamakhsharī in: *Rabī* '*al-Abrār*, Bāb al-Khā' wa al-Muhabbah. The similar narrative is quoted by al-Ghazālī in: *Ihyā*', Vol. 2, chapter: "The rights of the brothers according to the tongue", p. 177.

becomes easy to gain. And, by its presence every pleasure and bliss will delight, and by its attainment every great demand will become easy, every immense difficulty will degrade for him, and every determination will demean. Its great importance and the light of its proof are manifested by what is quoted from Allāh, the Most High "I necessitated loving those, who love others because of me and necessitated to love those, who become friends in the sake of my closeness."⁴⁶⁴

The ultimate brotherhood is loyalty, as the brotherhood is completed by it: By Allāh that the power and offer is on His hand. [548]

5.1.11 CHAPTER EIGHT

LOYALTY (WAFĀ')

The loyalty is the last step of chivalry and the perfection of kindness and strength; since the chivalry is due to the purity of inborn nature and the righteousness of the soul, and the inborn nature does not get pure from darkness of temper, and the soul does not purify from vice, but through loyalty to the eternal covenant.⁴⁶⁵ Therefore, whenever the loyalty is accomplished and the cover is removed and every valuable trait is obtained, and every brilliant virtue is practiced, the rest of the perfections which are necessary of human inborn nature according to the first readiness for other purification are still in potential if the servant of Allāh does not accomplish his duty to His covenant and does not accomplish the right of Divinity, which its performance is obligatory upon him, his chivalry and purity is incomplete. [In this case] his chivalry and purity is incomplete. Therefore, Allāh,

⁴⁶⁴ Suhrawardī, 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, in the margin of Iḥyā'al-'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 4, chapter: In the truth of communication.

⁴⁶⁵ *Al-A* '*rāf*, (7: 172): "When thy Lord drew forth from the children of Adam-from their loinstheir descendant and made them testify concerning themselves, (saying):"Am I not your Lord (cherishes and sustains you)?"- They said: "Yea! We do testify!" (This), lest ye should say on the Day of Judgment: "Of this we were never mindful".

the Most High, described the first, who is related to the character of the youth and granted his inborn nature and preserved by saying "And of Abraham who fulfilled his engagement?"466And He (Allāh) praised the pole of poles and the master of youth "They perform the vow"⁴⁶⁷

Thus, it (the loyalty) is departing from the obligation of the former covenant by provision of later contracts, and preserving the brother's engagement by keeping the way of consoling and kindness and considering the right of friends by support of the brotherhood's condition in the way he likes. Allah, the Most High, said "It is those who are endued with understanding ($ul\bar{u} al-alb\bar{a}b$) that receive admonition. Those who fulfill the Covenant ('ahd Allāh) of Allāh fail not in their plighted word."468

The inner most of human soul (lubb):⁴⁶⁹ It is the pure essence of healthy pure inborn nature from the peel of birth.

The covenant ('ahd): It is entrusting the potential to know Allah and His unity (tawhid) and the knowledge of His Divinity, and setting up the best proof for the nature of covenant and the potentiality does not manifest and will not manifest as actuality, except by execution to keep the faith, and the commitment to the Islamic law, and doing the duties of right of worshipping and performing the right of Divinity. Allāh said "O ye who believe! Fulfill (all) obligators."470 This is the loyalty to Allāh, the Most High.

⁴⁶⁶ *Al-Najm*, (53: 37).

⁴⁶⁷ *Al-Dahr*, (76: 7).

⁴⁶⁸ Al-Ra'd, (13: 19-20).

⁴⁶⁹ According to Kāshānī, lubb (pl. lubūb) means the selected part or the kernel of foods such as nuts or wheat and $lub\bar{a}b$ (pl. $al-b\bar{a}b$), from the some root, is the selected part of anything. Here, when said of a man, it means the pure intellect from the peel of delusion and imagination, by which the stable knowledge would be confirmed, as cited in Kāshānī, T'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Vol. 2, p. 199. ⁴⁷⁰ *Al-Mā'idah*, (5: 1).

However, loyalty to mankind is to devote to the rope of friendship and is verification of the [intimate] friendship's rule, in such a manner that he does not prevent form condition and does not abate as promised. And, it is to adjust his soul not to wish for own self any good except he wishes the same for his friend at first [549], and to prepfer for himself at the time of poverty and to offer himself at the time of need, and to try to gain his objective and benefits, and to defend his adversities and loss. He would sacrifies his life and wealth when he is in danger and an imbalanced situation. Allāh, the Most High, said about people of betrayal "It was not fitting for the people of Madīnah and the Bedouin Arabs of the neighborhood, to refuse to follow Allāh's Messenger, nor to prefer their own lives to his."⁴⁷¹

Likewise, the loyal person is successful to drink from the cup of the noble chivalry and is the possessor of good quality of virtue; while the disloyal person is disqualified from its field and is rejected from its side, becoming immersed in the blame and lowliness. The disloyal person is despised for the meanness and vileness, and is devoid from the religion and faith, and deserves abjection and ignominy. Allāh, the Most High, said "For Allāh loveth not the treacherous."⁴⁷² The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Those, who have no covenant, have no religion".⁴⁷³

⁴⁷¹ Al-Tawbah, (9: 120).

⁴⁷² Al-Anfāl, (8: 58).

⁴⁷³ Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, Vol. 72, p. 96 and Maybudī, *Kashf al-Asrār wa 'Iddah al-Abrār*, Vol. 4, p. 64.

5.1.12 CHAPTER NINE

ON THE BLIGHTS OF THE CHIVALRY AND DECAY OF NOBILITY

The great blight of chivalry is when the soul claims and considers its virtues by following the pleasure. Indeed, the base of their affair is isolation from attachments and less attention to the barriers. This would not appear except by the annihilation of the human characteristics and vanishing of the natural motives such as the love of glory, dignity, victory and other required passion.⁴⁷⁴ Then, what remains, the heart takes it in the way of virtue and with the light of inborn nature; where the soul will be influenced and occupied with its lights; whereby, it (the light) predominated and appeared with claim and disregarded and dominated the heart finely and delicately as compared to what is stabled in its essence. As a result, the inborn nature will be covered from [seeing] its perfection and will stop the attainment of inborn nature to its excellence and goal, by which the virtue of the soul transforms into vices and leads to egoism and arrogance.⁴⁷⁵ It designs the soul by his adornment and delight and the owner is deluded and deceived by these qualities by estimation. The virtue is not established by obtaining it in one time and not in other, neither to practice it sometimes, rather virtue is a character stabled in the soul, so the light of the heart will shine permanently on the soul, so that the light of the heart will never be concealed from it (soul). The beauty's action issues from it (soul) in the right time and location without deliberation and thought. The one who is struggling in the way of virtue is not yet wise, and the one who aims toward virtue is not yet complete, [550] as he may lie to himself through his illusion and imagination of the perfection, which is not found in him.

⁴⁷⁴ The fall of chivalry is to consider the self; hence, the youth has to annihilate the self in order to be able to attain the reality of existence. When the man manifest as the form of existence, in real he is nothing; since, the existence of the form and the existence of the meaning cannot be collected together. See: Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 98. ⁴⁷⁵ The arrogance destroyed the intellect.

That is the vanity described by the Prophet (p.b.u.h) "If you did not commit sin, I would be afraid of something worse than the sin, the vanity, vanity, vanity!⁴⁷⁶

He also may lie to others by pretending virtues when he does not have them. That is the arrogance about it, and it is said that "who is arrogance, Allāh put it down".⁴⁷⁷

There is nothing as disapproving for nobility as the lie! When the base of nobility is destroyed, the basis of chivalry is ruined. It is right that they say "All claimers are liars!"⁴⁷⁸

If the man gained virtue, his soul testifies the grace of his Lord and the excess of consideration His creator (Allāh), as He (Allāh) granted to him from His Holy emanation the capacity of receiving it [virtue], he made his inborn nature pure and liable and did not create it rigid and solid. Later, He (Allāh) succeeded him for refinement and purification and prepared his soul through inverting in the forms of closeness and attachment to adherence of good deeds; thereupon, the perfection is attained through the manifestation of the light of (Allāh) attributions. Therefore, he feels slight of the humility and modesty and says thanks and considers modesty as he is aware by the light of His right guidance that the soul is the home of every evil and source of every dirt, for it is from the realm of possible being (*al-imkān*), and all evils are things of non-being and darkness. They arise from the site of possible being, while, the goodness are things of the existence and light that are emanated from the merciful Highness. All possible beings are nothing in its essence except nothingness; thus from where would he attain virtues and how can he gain perfection?

⁴⁷⁶ It is quoted by al-Ghazālī with a bit difference in *Ihyā'al-'Ulūm*, Vol. 4, p.148; al-Mundharī, *al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhīb*, Vol. 3, 546.

⁴⁷⁷ Al-Ghazalī discussed the arrogance as the crime of the courage. It means to take the self superior that its real value, as cited in $M\bar{i}z\bar{a}n al$ -'Amal, p. 80. ⁴⁷⁸ Diverse Charles 7.6 (2017) 2017

⁴⁷⁸ *Dīwān Ghazalīyāt Sa*'*dī*, No: 26.

The blights of chivalry are dissipation and intemperance, for the behavior of the path of virtue is difficult and to hold the middle way is hard.⁴⁷⁹ While the caution regarding generosity leads to the exaggeration; since, the stinginess is blameworthy and in contrast to chivalry, and its contradictory is apparent. Hence, sometimes, the possessor of virtue may escape from the vice and struggles [so hard] in its escape that he would be inclined to other extreme; where he would be praised by the ignorant of the virtue or by those who benefited by that vice. As a result, it (the praise) takes root in his soul and becomes blight, while he doesn't realize it, and he will spend his life not due to the noble will and, [therefore] of the generous, he achieves no stage. Allāh, the Most High, said "Verily spendthrifts are brothers of the Evil Ones."⁴⁸⁰

The recklessness is exactly the same as we said before; for there is no doubt in the meanness of the frightened. The aspirant of chivalry may seek the praise of people by his ignorance; thus, he commits the risks not for protection of the religion or community and not for honor of people or territory, rather he meets danger and counts himself as brave, while in truth he is far from it. [551]

Lethargy, abase and injustice [also dishonor the chivalry]; thus, the carefulness to chastity, humility and justice bring chivalry towards its side. The soul is inclined to their opposites; while the defect of evil, arrogance and injustice is not hidden to anybody. So the loss of avoidance of lethargy and carefulness to it chastity might lead to inability, lethargy, and servitude to darkness, humiliation and injustice.

⁴⁷⁹ Al-Ghazālī discussed about the dissipation as the crime of chastity. According to him, this vice is to waste money in the unnecessary way and to spend it more than it must be done, as cited in $M\bar{z}a\bar{n}$ al-'Amal, p. 83.

⁴⁸⁰ Al-Asrā', (17: 27).

"Some gentleness by ignorance is for submissiveness of humiliation".⁴⁸¹

Also bragging and flaunting dishonor the chivalry. They are related to claim, but weaker and lesser than it. Its root is the manifestation of the soul with the quality of ignorance; otherwise, he is aware that everyone possesses a character that the others don't have; therefore, the soul becomes suppressed, defeated, degraded and humbles in himself.

5.1.13 CHAPTER TEN

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE YOUTH (*AL-FATĀ*), THE DISCIPLE OF CHIVALRY (*AL-MUTAFATTĀ*) AND THE PRETENDER (*AL-MUDDA'Ī*)

The youth (*fatā*) is the one who completed the ethical virtues and is apart from the lower things and soul's vices due to his awareness of its (soul) affair and the evidence from his Lord. That person is the possessor of stable steps in chivalry and has secured established soul (*nafs al-muțma'innah*). The four categories of virtues including their qualities became talents in his soul and they would not change and would not transform. He is aware of the fine blights and of the single difficulties that prevent the incoming details of duplicity and hypocrisy. While, his soul absorbs joy and beauty, and he obeys every beauty action without thinking and consideration with submissive nature for every great circumstance, without stop and struggle.

The disciple of the path of chivalry (*mutafattā*) steps in its way and tries to attain it, and he is eager to its end and is influenced by its qualities. His soul is

⁴⁸¹ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah Li Abī Tamam (www.startimes.com/?t=27153426Al).

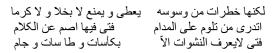
struggling between colorants $(talw\bar{n})^{482}$ and he blames himself for the leap and defeat; he is not yet pure from the fault of the soul, variety of desires, and he is not yet perfect to control [his] nature and to leave [his] wish. His pure capacity is not yet solidified, his appetite for learning and labor is not yet frigid, and the fire of his hunger to raise and grow is not died. Thus, he is like a trained servant (*khādim*) in the service of Allāh and free from impurity of hypocrisy, greed and expectation, praise or exchange and compliment. The one who is on the way of the servant (*mutakhādim*) is someone who struggles to practice the service and suffers himself by generosity, fights for its path and considers the conditions. He purifies his soul once with the desires and conquers the others with piety. [552]

However, the pretender (*mudda* \tilde{i}) claims to follow the manner of chivalry: he is like the servant, [who works] for the purpose of glory or [for the] desire of money. With his service, he tries to win the absorption of people and use it as the tool for collecting [money]. He embarks on a risk not because of courage, he gives the money not because of generosity; rather, he is arrogant to his relatives and takes precedence over his brothers. His state ($h\bar{a}l$) is different at the time of fear and carelessness, and his actions are contradicting in the state of stinginess and intemperance, as it is told:

"He gives and prevents, [not because] he is not greedy or generous."⁴⁸³

His morals are not proportionate, and his traits and manners are not strange. His inward and outward are not equal, and what he does in secret is not the same

⁴⁸³ The poet is Abū al-qāsim Muʿāwiyah Ibn Sufyān al-Aʿmī one of the student of al-Kasā'ī. (www. *https://ara.bi/poetry/.../ الجود-ان-مطر لا/...)*. The complete vers is as follow:



 $^{^{482}}$ Talwin refers to the change of heart between the Opening and Veil because of frequency following the appearance and absence of the attributions. Here means, the character does not confirm in his soul

as he doses in public. He may proceed on big dangers and great situations in front of the *Shtuttār* and *Da*' $\bar{a}rah^{484}$ [in order] to subjugate them. And, he breach with fear to their hearts and carries on the strong combat with lots of people, in order to show his endurance and wanting to be praised. Where, at other times, he shrinks to do less for them; since, he is not expecting certain purpose, although it may help in protecting his religion, neighborhood and his dignity. He permits his soul to give plentiful money in front of respectful people or simply to challenge the other party; even if they were not deserving of it. If he does not achieve any of his intentions by doing these actions, he would become greedy and careless of any condemnation, even if it is the true situation and location [for generosity], by which Allāh would be satisfied and people would be happy with it. On the other hand, he does not avoid [from doing bad things], not due to the feeling a shame before Allāh but rather he feels honored. Where he has power he oppresses without mercy and fear of Allāh, and is not afraid of being dishonored by people nor of Allāh's penalty, even if the oppressed are weak and poor people. He may oppress himself because of his disability or to show his endurance, independence or his chastity. He will not stop from oppression except for a reason. Such people are far from chivalry and they are not counted among people of nobility. Therefore, those, who are in the path of chivalry, have to avoid from them and they don't have to be in company and sitting with them! Since, their company is more harmful than infused poison and it hurts more than predatory animals. [553]

⁴⁸⁴ They were two kinds of chivalry groups, which merely tended to rely on the knife and cudgel. They were denounced regularly because of their criminal elements. Ibn Battūta, *Rehla*, p. 383; Irwin, Robert (2004), *The Arabian Nights: A Companion*, New York, Tauris Parke Paperback, p. 148.

CONCLUSION

It contains three chapters.

5.1.14 FIRST CONCLUSION

IN THE WAY OF GAINING CHIVALRY

Whoever experiences the intention of chivalry in his heart and is awakened from his inside should delight himself with the purity of his inborn nature and validity of the sanctity. And, he must be grateful to Allāh, the Most High, for it, as the truthfulness of his request and the power of his will are the signs of his sufficiency. And he should make an effort to seek chivalry, since true seeking is the sign of conscience. Although, he must avoid firstly, from things that corrupt the chivalry and its failure, such as lies, slander, greed, avidity, evil, treachery, treason, oppression, ignoble, stinginess, boasting, shamelessness, following pleasures, loving and meeting with lowly, sinful and suspicion people, intercourse with evils, accompanying the sly and the people of libertine, discuss about slight properties and stressing on it, and affliction and bargain in social life; because all those attributes corrupt the base of nobility and destroy its principle.

In sum up, everything that dishonors the religion, slights the chastity and inherits the lowness and disgraces it, is against the nobility. The man, who does not govern the foundation or the basis [of chivalry], his building will then be destroyed and his efforts will be the occasion of ruin! A wise man advises his son "My son! You must have nobility. By the name of God, if I know that the cold water will discredit the nobility, [555] I would only drink warm water".⁴⁸⁵

He must seek the chivalry when he is young in the early age of his youth, and practice its tradition and make himself strong against its adversary as it is told before, and [to practice] different kinds of righteousness, generosity, good character, gracefulness and support friends and connect to relatives and foreigners and others. Unless, it will be difficult for him at old age. As one of the Arab youth composed:

"When the young man does not attain the chivalry in his youth, it would be difficult to gain it at the old age"⁴⁸⁶

Therefore, he should make chivalry a priority, being perfect and characterize its mentioned virtues, be accustomed to chivalry; in order to unite to the virtue, to present only virtue, [and] to take possession the halter of virtue (to mastery virtue). Indeed, those who are separated from the pole and are isolated from the group of [chivalrous], will become disciple of devil (*shaytān*) and out of the group of chivalrous; *shaytān* will lead his action, behavior and manner, [thus] he will appear the opion of *shaytān*. His state is changed in obeying *shaytān*'s orders, and then he prohibits himself to strive for goals of *shaytān*, and his endeavor descends according to *shaytān*'s will, and he abandons *shaytān*'s wish and goes with *shaytān*'s good will what his soul wants and commands. Since,

⁴⁸⁵ It is referred to the Fadl Ibn Yahyā Barmakī (d. 803/1401) who treated his father very well. When the father and son were in the prison, according to the Abbasid Caliph, Hārūn, his father was ill and could not use the cold water in the winder; therefore, Yahyā embraced the container of the cold water to reduce its cooling, so that his father could use it. See: Hayāt al-Haywān, Vol. 2, p. 89; For further information about his life see: Ibn Khallikan (2010), *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, Paris, Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland publishing, Vol. 2, pp. 445-468.

⁴⁸⁶ The author did not mention to the first part of the poet, which says: "Don not ask the man rather consider his friend". The poet is unknown; however, it is used by Suyūtī in *Bahjah al-Mardiyyah Fi Sharḥ al-Alfiyyah*, Tehran, Asad Ābādī, (2010), p. 108.

there is not any obstacle for him to reach the perfection except his soul's motives $(daw\bar{a}\,'\bar{i}\,al\text{-}nafs)$. And, there is no obstacle for him to arrive at the goal except his desires $(am\bar{a}n\bar{i})$. Thus, he has to avoid the obstacles and become friends to the brothers and friends, whose endeavor is [gaining] virtue. He preserves the path [of chivalry] and takes lovers and friends whose concern is chivalry and their character is nobility, until his soul be trained by their company and he becomes like them.

"Every friend follows up his friend"487

Be aware that the basic issue in gaining chivalry is to avoid vices; since leaving them is easier and weaker for the soul. When it (vice) is gone and the soul is purified, the inborn self becomes delighted and the virtues will be attained without confusion. And it is not difficult to act and obtain it. Allāh, the Most High, said "So he who gives [in charity] and fears [Allāh]. And [in all sincerity] testifies to the best. We will indeed make smooth for him the path to bliss."⁴⁸⁸Allāh makes all difficulties easy.

⁴⁸⁷ The poet is 'Uday Ibn Zayd Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Uday Ibn al-Riqā' al-Āmilī (d. 604/1208). See: Muhammad Bāqir al-Sharīf (1914), *Jāmī' al-Shawāhid*, chapter al-Alifwww. (al-mostafa.info/data/arabic/depot3/gap.php?...)

⁴⁸⁸ Al- Layl, (92: 5-7)

5.1.15 SECOND CONCLUSION

DECLERATION OF SOURCE OF CHIVALRY

AND THE BEGINNING OF ITS PATH

It is quoted that one day a person came to the Prophet (p.b.u.h) while he was with his companions. [556] [He said to the Prophet] "A man and a woman is gathered together in the house committing immorality, so send someone to get them." Thus, one of the companions stood up and said "O Prophet! I will bring them". But he said "It is not your business". Accordingly, some of them, one by one, asked him for permission to go, but he did allow any of them. Then, 'Alī (a.s) entered; so the Prophet (p.b.u.h) said to him "O 'Alī! Go and if you find them, then bring them here. So, he ('Alī) went to the door of the house while closing his eyes walked around spying in the house. Thus, both manage to escape. Then he went out with open eyes and returned to the Prophet and when he meets him he said "I saw no one at all in that house!" So, the face of the Prophet became indulgent and he visions it with the light of prophecy what the matter was. He said "O 'Alī! You are youth (fatā) of this community".⁴⁸⁹ Then, he asked for a bowl of water and salt. Salmān Fārsī $(a.s)^{490}$ prepared what the Prophet asked for. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) took palm of salt and said "This is the law (*sharī'ah*)", so he threw it into the water. Then, he took again a palm of salt and said "This is the path (*tariqah*)", and added it to the water. For the third time, he again took a palm of salt and said "This is the truth (hagigah)" and put it into the water. Then, he gave it to the 'Alī to drink and said "You are my friend and I am the friend of Gabriel and he is the friend of Allah, the Most High."

⁴⁸⁹ The similar story is quoted by Suhrawardī in his *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 108-109.

⁴⁹⁰ Salmān Fārsī (d. 35/657) is one of the companions of the Prophet (p.b.u.h).

Afterwards, he asked Salmān to accompany 'Alī and he gave him the drink from the bowl, and asked Hudhayfah al-Yamānī⁴⁹¹ to accompany Salmān and he drank from the bowl in hand of the Salmān. Thereafter, he dressed 'Alī with the robe of his cloth and tightened its middle and said "I completed you 'Alī!"

This report is the source of chivalry and the authentic principle for this way, which the chivalrous keep doing. So, they established their way based on this and built this common tradition of drinking water from the bowl and wearing cloth tightened in the middle, and their origin and genealogical tree is corrected through it. All of these possess secrets that refer to a noble meaning, which is the form of that meaning.

However, drinking water and salt refers to the outcome of the knowledge of the pureness of eternity, talent, and the gifted wisdom by the precedence of concern which is the goal of the persistence search of every believer. Since, the knowledge is so essential for the heart as water is vital for the life of bodies (Physical life).

The salt refers to the meaning of justice as the taste of food will not be right and balanced except with salt. It is a base [557] of food that strengthens and grows the bodies; as the perfect character is not correct and straight except with justice. It (justice) is the foundation of the third-mentioned stages, through which the hearts become strong and complete.

But, the wearing of the robe refers to the virtue of chastity. It covers the faults and prevents the man from lust. It is the principle of chastity and the column based for all kinds of chastity.

⁴⁹¹ Hudhayfah Yamānī (d. 34/656) was a close companion of the Prophet (p.b.u.h).

But, the tightening of the middle refers to the virtue of courage, and to the soul's practice, in order to rise to serve the people. It is the form of a courage that contains the ultimate humility, which is the basis of courage and the form of the effort (*jihād*), which is its perfection and it is known as completion. Since, the perfection of knowledge is due to action and is acknowledged by chivalry when it is performed. Not every knowledge is called speculation (*nazar*), since the holder of speculation is lower that the holder of action. Therefore, it is clear that these rituals refer to all virtues, and by them chivalry will be completed and the suitability of sanctity (*walāyah*) will be attained. Therefore, the chivalry's robe is trousers, but for Sufi it is a hat; since the first step [in chivalry] is chastity and belongs to the low level, which is the beginning of Sufism to the highest ranks.

In Sufism, shaving the hair is a tradition (*sunnah*), but in chivalry, it is not; as the shaving is referring to disappearance of the obstacles, the ascendance, and it is the beginning, which is their goal.

However, for the chivalrous, it is a request to gain virtues and noble character because it is the demand of his nature.

The man, who has attained the sanctity perfectly, is called master (*shaykh*) and the one, who has obtained the virtues entirely, is called *fatā* (youth). Since the first one is in the station of spirit (*al-rūḥ*), that is the absolute light and the ultimate spiritual perfection, which leads to the real annihilation (*al-fanā'*), as the master wears in white and the superficial of final perfection leads to the corporal annihilation. Second is the stage of heart, which is the ultimate spiritual strength and human inborn perfection, lower than spiritual stages. As, the chivalry is the final of corporal power and the perfect form of human and not the intellect power; therefore, youth (*fatā*) means the station of the soul (*nafs*). And, it is clear

that the ultimate of chivalry is the beginning of sanctity; thereupon, it is said the chivalry is a part of Sufism, just as the sanctity is a part of prophecy. Allāh knows better! [558]

5.1.16 THIRD CONCLUSION

THE CHARACTERS OF DISCIPLE OF CHIVALRY AND THEIR BEHAVIOR AND MANNER

Allāh, the most High, said "Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with Allāh: of them some have completed their vow and some wait, but they have never changed (their determination) in the least."⁴⁹²Allāh, the Most High, praised them because of their perfect manhood and keeping the promise and fulfillment the covenant; since, the redemption is truly the entire righteousness and the final duties. Allāh, the Most High, mentioned to it and described Ismāīl (a.s) by it [attitude], when He (Allāh) said "He was true to what he promised"⁴⁹³and He (Allāh) described the pious "To fulfill the contracts which ye have made".⁴⁹⁴Indeed, how well Ma'mūn has composed in some of his compositions:

"Keep your best friend, don't break the friendship

Allāh does not bless, who cheat or disrupt"495

⁴⁹² *Al-Ahzāb*, (3: 23).

⁴⁹³ Maryam, (19: 54); *PTIKF*: 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib by saying the principle of chivalry, counted the loyalty first and the repentance at least; since, the pole considers it from the stage of perfection and descents from upper stage. Thus, the path of end for the one who has been reached it is in contrast of the path of the beginner who still seeks for perfection. Therefore, according to the stage of the perfected one the loyalty is the first stage and repentance the last but for the beginner the repentance is the first and loyalty the last stage.

⁴⁹⁴ *Al-Baqarah*, (2: 177).

⁴⁹⁵ Kāshānī quoted this poem from M'mūn al-Abbāsī (d. 218/833). His poems are collected by Abī Bakr Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī in his book *Ash'ār Awlād al-Khulafā'*, Maṭba'ah al-Ṣiyāwī, 1936.

And one of Arab's youth (*fatā*) composed:

"Thus, honor your brother through up, as you are together, Only death can separate you and brings distance between you"⁴⁹⁶

One of their characters is exaggeration to preserve secrets and to protect it from others, even if they would be frightened with sword or threatened by different kinds of harm and tortured by fire; they would not reveal anything except concealment. Indeed, He (Allāh) blamed the spreading of secret by revelation whereas He [Allāh] said: "When there comes some matter touching [public] safety or fear, they divulge it".⁴⁹⁷As some of them (youth) composed:

"As I do not reveal the secret of friend, I am aware of all their secrets, In everyone there is an empty part of heart, it is the place to entrust the secret and no one is aware of it, When, friends became dispersed in countries, their secret remains in such safe place that even the strong men cannot break it.⁴⁹⁸

Another character is magnanimity (*takarrum*). It is to protect holiness and to consider modesty at the occasion of accusation and situation of lowness and suspicion, and to avoid from adjoining the vile and stupid, in order to sustain the parade and conserve the prettiness, as it is composed:

"I pass the depraved, while he is abusing me, I pass and ignore what he meant is not for me."⁴⁹⁹[559]

And another one said:

⁴⁹⁶ The poet is unknown.

⁴⁹⁷ *Al-Nisā*', (4: 82).

⁴⁹⁸ The poem is attributed to the 'Abū Tammām (d. 845 H) in: *Sharḥ Diwān al-Ḥamāsah*, chapter, al-Adab. See: Abū al-Ma'ālī Naşr Allāh Munshī, *Kalilah wa Demnah*, Minūī Publ., p. 149.

⁴⁹⁹ It is attributed to 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. See: *Sharḥ Diwān Mansūb be 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib* (1379), Studied by Maybudī, Tehran, Mirāth Maktūb, 3th ed. p. 106.

"O, soul! Do you know if you feel honored with greedy I don't forget to be kind and admire you."500

And another said:

"O, soul! Do you know if you feel honored with greed I don't forget to be kind and admire you"⁵⁰¹

Another character is great patience (si'ah al-sadr); in order to release their soul from worldly attachments and eminence their ambitions out of from mortal methods, so that wishes do not mislead them and their fortune and abilities do not decrease. They don't get sad if they lose and do not get happy with what is coming, as one of the chivalrous said:

> "I know every comfort does not make me arrogant at all Neither would hardship of misery makes me servile" The fear does not fill my heart before it comes And if it happens, I shall not be annoyed by its assurance."502

No envy will overwhelm them and no hatred will affect them, as the poet

said:

"I surely leave hate when it shows up Its effect from the lord and I will never hide it."503

⁵⁰⁰ Al- Marzūqī al-Isfahānī, Sharh Diwān al-Hamasah, chapter al-Adab, Vol. 3, p.162 (shamela.ws/index.php/book/26536). ⁵⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 1144.

⁵⁰² It is related to the Laqit Ibn Zirārah al-Tamimī, *al-Faraj Ba'd al-Shiddah Lil Tanūkhī*, Chapter

 ⁵⁰³ Sharh Diwān al-Hamasah, Chapter al-Adab, Vol. 3, p. 1124.

They do not celebrate with betray and do not care for the blame, as Allāh, the Most High, said "Fighting in the Way of God and never afraid of the reproaches of such as find fault..."⁵⁰⁴ As the narrator said:

"If the youth find for himself the strait path Then it is easier for him with the annoying of blamers."⁵⁰⁵

The next characters are kindness (rifq) and tolerance $(mud\bar{a}r\bar{a}h)$, sociability with poor and weak believers, and to treat rebellious, sinful and powerful unbelievers with firmness, might and strictness.

Regarding the excellent tolerance, it is told that the Prophet (p.b.u.h) never murmured for the food and never blamed his servant. It is quoted from Anas⁵⁰⁶that he worked for the Prophet (p.b.u.h) ten years, [yet] he never addressed Anas impolitely and never asked him for what he has not made, and if he has done nothing, he never said why.

It is quoted that the Prophet once asked his companion "Can any of you behave like Abū Damdam?" They said "What was the conduct of him?" He answered "Every morning he prayed "My Allāh, I have given my honor to the one who has treated me unjustly. The one who strikes me, I will not strike back [560] and the one who blame me, I will not blame and I will not harm the one who harms and treats me unjustly."⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁴ *Al-Mā'idah*, (5: 54).

⁵⁰⁵ The poem is attributed to Ibn Sīnā. See: Abbas Mahmūd 'aqqād (1967), *Al-Shaykh al-Ra'is Ibn Sinā*, Dār al-Ma'āf, digitalized in 2011.

⁵⁰⁶ He might be Ans Ibn Mālik, one of the companions of the Prophet and died around 711.

⁵⁰⁷ This story is also quoted by al-Ghazālī when he wrote about the merit of patience. See: $Ihy\bar{a}'$ al-'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 4, p. 61.

Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) said that the Prophet (p.b.u.h) was asked about the good treatment. He said "To give to the one who prohibits you, to connect to one who separated from you and to forgive the one who harmed you."⁵⁰⁸

It is revealed in the Qur'ān "Repel [evil] with what is better: then will he between whom and thee was hatred become as it was thy friend and intimate!"⁵⁰⁹

I swear to God that man cannot attain is utmost character and he does not measure its degree I swear that man cannot attain utmost of character and cannot be able to value it unless the virtue is confirmed in [the soul of] his holder and he is separate from substraction and stigma of vice. The character does not appear in his soul and prevents the enemy of the soul by the power of his heart. The Holy Prophet said "He who is deprived of kindness is deprived of goodness."⁵¹⁰

'Abd al-Allāh Ibn Abī Bakr quoted from an Arab man that "I crushed the Prophet (p.b.u.h) on the day of Hunayn⁵¹¹ and I walked with a thick shoes, so I stepped over the Prophet's foot, thus, he (the prophet) gave me a slight strike by the whip in his hand and said: In the name of Allāh I felt pain." The man said "I settled myself to regret and said that I hurt the Messenger of Allāh! God knows how I spend that night. When the next morning comes, a man says "where is so and so?" I said: This is me who was yesterday and then I uttered and was afraid. However, he said to me: yesterday you crushed my foot with your shoes and I felt pain! Therefore, I struck you slightly with the whip, this is eighty ewes, take them [in return of that hurt]!"⁵¹²It is composed:

⁵⁰⁸ See: Ahmad Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-khusrūjirdī Khurāsānī known as Abūbakr al-Bayhaqī (1988), *al-Ādāb Lilbayhaqī*, Beirut, Mu'assissah al- Kutub al-Thiqāfiyah, *Ḥadīth*: 122.

⁵⁰⁹ *Fussilat*, (41: 34). ⁵¹⁰ *Sahīh Muslim* Box

⁵¹⁰ *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book 32, No: 6270.

⁵¹¹ The battle of Hunayn was between Muhammad and his followers against the Bedouin tribe of Hawazin and its subsection. See: *Tafsīr Tabarī*, Vol. 14: p. 25-27.

⁵¹² This Hadith is discussed in *Kitāb al-Sunan al-Dārimī* by 'Abd al-Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū

"Gentleness, tenderness and ease are the sons of generosity kind, noble traits are the sons of gentle they do not speak of fornication nor do they persist lies if others do"⁵¹³

The firmness (*ghilzah*): It is to use the power of determination because they want to over protect. Allāh, the Most High, said "…let them find firmness in you."⁵¹⁴

Another quality is the strength (*shaddah*). Allāh, the Most High, described believers: "And those who are with him are strong against Unbelievers."⁵¹⁵

The glory (*'izzah*) is of two kinds: first, to erect the soul from being low or depraved (*la'īm*) toward the enemy or greater in the world; thus, it needs to abase oneself. Allāh, [561] the Most High, described the beloved "Lowly with the believers and mighty against rejecters."⁵¹⁶

It is told to Hasan⁵¹⁷ "How great you are in your soul?" He replied "I am not great, but I am beloved." However, Allāh, the Most High, said "But honor belongs to Allāh and His messenger and to the Believers, but the hypocrites know not."⁵¹⁸

The second type [of glory] is the human's knowledge of the capacity of his soul, and his honor and respect toward it (soul), and being aware of different types of earthy pleasure, and what not to disregard by placing it for the greed of

Muhammad al-Dārimī. He named the teller of Hadith but he mentioned that its authenticity is rejected by al-

Mahāribī.

⁵¹³ Al-Marzūqī al-Işfahānī, *Sharh Dīwān al-Hamasah*, chapter al-Adyāf, Vol. 4, p. 1593.

⁵¹⁴ Al-Tawbah, (9: 123).

⁵¹⁵ *Al-Fath*, (29.

⁵¹⁶ Al-Mā'idah, (5: 154).

⁵¹⁷ It is referred to Hasan Başıı (d. 110 H). See: 'Izze al-Dın Mahmud Ibn 'Alı Kashanı (2002), *Mişbāh al-Hidāyah wa Miftāḥ al-Kifāyah*, Tehran, Amir Kabır, p. 353.

⁵¹⁸ Al-Munāfiqūn, (63: 8).

eating and drinking or other mean things. Allāh said "But the honor belongs to Allāh and His messenger and His Believers."⁵¹⁹The poet said:

"They turn away from the food they saw They leave it, while they feel hungry in inside"⁵²⁰

And another one said:

"And certainly I abstain from the amount of the food When I learn people will commit it due to the hunger"⁵²¹

Another character is jealousy (*ghayrah*). It is to prevent from what dishonors him and to precede the others. Its source is one's feeling of his honor and purity of its essence and its nobility for he is free from the impure natures and dirty things and his nearness to Divine presence and his relationship for real Unity. The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Sa'd is jealous and I am more jealous than him and Allāh is more jealous than me."⁵²²

The other character is self-adornment (*tajammal*):⁵²³ It is to manifest the wealth and comfort and to hide the difficulty and disaster. This is the result of glory of the soul and its fruit is the state of thankfulness and the sign of confidence and satisfaction with Allāh. However, to demonstrate the poverty means complaining, lowness, and weakness and failing. Allāh, the Most High,

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid*.

⁵²⁰ Al-Marzūqī al-Işfahānī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*, p. 357; Muhammad Ibn Mukram, Abū al-Fadl Jamāl al-Dīn, *Lisān al- 'Arab*, Dār Ṣār, ch. 5, Matter of fear (*khawf*).

⁵²¹ It is quoted from al-Muqnī[•] al-Kandī the Umayyad poet in *al-Tadhkirah al-Sa[•] diyah Fī Ash[•]ār al-[•] (Arabiyyah by Muhammad Ibn [•] Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn [•] Abd al-majid al-[•] ubaydī (d. 702/1303). (<i>www.madinahnet.com*).

⁵²² Al-Sunan al-Dārimī, Kitāb al-Nikāh, Mas'alah 2227.

⁵²³ From the beginning of this part until the end of the text is written in separate as the chapter three under the title "On the service and hospitality" in Persian version.

said "But the Bounty of thy Lord-rehearse and proclaim."⁵²⁴And Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a.s) said "The one, who unfolds his loss, has accepted the disgrace."⁵²⁵

Among the chivalry's tradition is hospitality and preparation of the resting place ($qar\bar{a}$); as the chivalry is the appearance of the sanctity and its beginning, and the sanctity is the inside [secret] and end of chivalry. The possessor of the sanctity considers the whole with the sight of unity of its members and organs and abounds them with goodness and perfection, according to the perfect munificence and mercy. Therefore, it is necessary that the possessor of chivalry consider his brothers and relatives with the sight of love, and to provide them with benefits and comfort in accordance with the universal brotherhood and compassion, so that the outward fits the inward [562] and the origin appropriate the end and the image be alike the meaning. Thus, he (possessor of chivalry) tolerates the difficulty for the comfort of the companion and humiliates himself to honor the guests, and affects them by his strength at the time of his poverty, and does not let them know his loss and needs.

It is quoted that a man came to the Prophet (p.b.u.h) on the day of *Masqabah*.⁵²⁶ He said "I am hungry, so give me food." So, the Prophet (p.b.u.h) said to his wives "Do you have any food?" Then, all of them said "Swear to Allāh Who chose you as His messenger, we do not have anything except water". The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Allāh blesses the one, who invites this man tonight." Thus, one of men of *Anṣār* stood up and said "Me, O the Messenger of Allāh!" [However] His wife said "We have nothing than the food for the kids." The man

⁵²⁴ Al-Duhā', (93: 11).

⁵²⁵ 'Alī Ibn Abī T'ālib, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Vol. 6, p.1089.

⁵²⁶ Saghb means hunger. It is referred to the Qurān, al-Balad, (9: 14), where it is emphasized to give food in a day of hunger is very praised. See: Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, Vol. 10, p. 1353.

said "Stand up and delay to bring them food until they (kids) go to sleep and do not feed them anything, then, when I made light and entertain the guest to eat; you pretend to fix the light then turn it off and come here, we chew and pretend to eat with the guest of the Messenger of Allāh (p.b.u.h) until he is full."

So, the wife went to his children and made them busy until they forgot about the food, then she stood up and brought food and made light. As the guests were eating, she stood up and pretended to fix the light, but she turned it off, then they waggle their tongues and the guest thought that those two eat with him until he was satisfied, and they slept with hunger!

As tomorrow the companion came to the Prophet (p.b.u.h), he looked at both of them with a smile and told "Tonight Allāh has truly wondered of the action of so and so" Afterwards, Allāh, the Most High, revealed it "But give them preference over themselves, even though poverty was their (own lot)."⁵²⁷

Also, it is quoted that $Ab\bar{i}$ al-Hasan al-Anț $\bar{a}k\bar{i}$ ⁵²⁸ had more than thirty guests. He had only a few pieces of bread, which were not enough for even five persons. So, they divided it into small pieces and turned off the light and sat to eat. [Later], when they took the food it was untouched; none of them ate it for each of them scarified his soul for others to eat. [563]

There are lots of tales in this matter that I drop because of the limitation and it is incompatible with this brief writing. Those who want to learn more, have to search the trace and information and to study the books and treatises; since they have wonders and strange stories that unveil the weirdness. Those who do not suffice with all of them, will not suffice with its partial. And, those who do not benefit this presentation, the explanation would not benefit them. In summary, he

 ⁵²⁷ Al-Hashr, (59: 9); Rashid al-Dīn Maybudī, Kashf al-Asrār wa 'iddah al-Abrār, Vol. 10, p. 43.
 ⁵²⁸ d. 240/855.

would not be satisfied with the details. I am asking for His guidance to the straightway and to greeting Muhammad until the Day of Division. [564]

CHAPTER 6

KĀSHĀNĪ'S CONCEPTION OF CHIVALRYACCORDING TO TUĻFAHAL-IKHWĀN FĪ KHAṢĀIṢ AL-FITYĀN

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will analyze the chivalry letter of Kāshānī and discuss the meaning of chivalry according to Kāshānī's point of view. It will also argue about the most refreshing of his treatise, which contains the rich notion of Sufi terms and the school of Wahda al-Wujūd. In order to understand the significance and influences of his treatise, his ideas will be compared with two famous and important chivalry letters as the chivalry letter of Shahāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī⁵²⁹(d. 587/1191), and Sultānī's Chivalry letter of Nagshbandiyyah Sufi Kamāl al-Dīn Husayn Ibn 'Alī Wāiz Kāshifī Bayhaqqī Hirawī (d. 910/1504).⁵³⁰ It is to note that the chivalry letter of Suhrawardī is one of the significant chivalry letters in early Islamic literature; since, Suhrawardī, for the first time, has institutionalized the traditional chivalry and spiritualized the idea of chivalry.⁵³¹ And, the importance of the latter is placed on the successful combination of chivalry with Sufism.⁵³²He considered chivalry as one of spiritual knowledge and blended it with the knowledge of Sufism, providing blended comprehensive studies of this knowledge, its reality, subject and magnitude. His chivalry letter is a testament of the deep influence of the Sufism in chivalry in the sixteenth century. His Sufi chevalier depicts the corporate of Sufi's virtue to the chivalry. In addition to the selected influential chivalry letters, indeed, the chronological selection is considered by the collection of the authors. Therefore, the reader is able to

⁵²⁹ Suhrawardī (1973), *Futuwwant Nāmeh*, in: *Rasāil Jawan Mardān* by Murtezā Ṣarrāf, p. 90.

⁵³⁰ Wāiz Kāshifī, Husayn Wāiz (1971), *Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī*, ed. Muhammad Jafar Mahjūb, Tehran, Buyād Farhangī Iran. This book is translated into English in 2000 as: *The Royal Book of Spiritual Chivalry*, Translation by: Jay R. Crook, Chicago, Great Books of the Islamic World.

 ⁵³¹ Lloyd V. J. Ridgeon (2011), Jawanmardi: A Sufi Code of Honour, Edinburgh University Press, p. 8; Jerald D. Gort, Henry Jansen, Hendrik M. Vroom, 2007, Probing the Depths of Evil and Good: Multireligious Views and Case Studies, Amsterdam, Rodopi B. V., p. 266 and Leonard Lewisohn (1999), The Heritage of Sufism: Classical Persian Sufism from its origins to Rumi (700-1300), London, Oneworld, p. 481.
 ⁵³² Stephanie L. Hathaway, David W. Kim (2012), Intercultural Transmission in the Medieval

⁵³² Stephanie L. Hathaway, David W. Kim (2012), *Intercultural Transmission in the Medieval Mediterranean*, A& and C Black, p. 75; *Jawanmardi*, Translated by the Lioyd V. J. Ridgon, Einburgh University Press, p. 165-166.

examine the similarities, differences and the development of the concept of chivalry, besides the influences of Kāshānī's chivalry letter from twelfth to the early of sixteenth century. In this regard, at first step, this chapter will explain about the meaning of the chivalry according to Kāshānī, and then compare it with chivalry of Suhrawardī and Wāiẓ Kāshifī. And, finally, this chapter will discuss in order about the foundation and doctrine of chivalry, while the comparison with mentioned authors will continue in selected subjects.

6.1 THE DEFINITION OF CHIVALRY IN KĀSHĀNĪ'S POINT OF VIEW

Kāshānī started his treatise with a submission of the definition of chivalry as fellow:

"Be aware that chivalry is appearance $(zuh\bar{u}r)$ of the inborn nature (fitrah), in its pureness and delicate qualification, and its overcoming on emergence of darkness with its potentiality and authority in accordance with development [on human being]. The chivalry is a quality, which follows its perfect talent that is necessary for the pure Abrahamic inborn nature, as *Allāh* said about it in the Qur'ān: "But only he (will prosper) that brings to *Allāh* a wealth sound heart (*qalbsalīm*)."⁵³³

As we can observe, in this definition, Kāshānī considerably emphasizes the matter of inborn nature and its appearance. Moreover, he makes a connection between inborn nature and the human perfect talent. Therefore, we try to examine what relation could be between chivalry and inborn nature and the relation of inborn nature with the human talent for perfection, in Kāshānī' point of view. This relation could be analyzed in an effort to explore the substance of inborn nature.

Kāshānī described inborn nature in his treatise "*Risalah Qaḍā wa Qadar*" as the untainted and pure condition of human, in which the reality of human is

⁵³³ Kāshānī, *Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān*, p. 527.

created.⁵³⁴ On the other hand, he stated in *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān* that it is the result of The Most Holy Grace (*fayd al-aqdas*).⁵³⁵

This definition is based on the teaching of School of *Wahdah al-Wujūd*, in which the Divine essence ($d\bar{a}t \ il\bar{a}h\bar{i}$) is hidden forever and it is never accessible. However, His latency might have an appearance in two stages.⁵³⁶ The first stage is called The Most Holy Grace (*fayd al-aqdas*). It is the appearance of the essence for the essence, in which God will appear in His Divine names and attributions. In this stage the primary faces or immutable entities (*a'yān al-thābitah*) will appear in the knowledge of God.⁵³⁷ They are within the Divine essence; hence, they are stable and secure from any decay, vice and defect. That is why they are called it as immutable entities.⁵³⁸

The second stage is called the Holy Grace (*fayd al-muqaddas*). Here, the immutable entities will exit from the step of immutability and the knowledge of God and find external existence.⁵³⁹In the meaning that God appeared in the perceptible manifestations (*mazāhir al-malmūsah*). This does not mean the transformation, but it is the revelation of the eternal knowledge like unfolding the form of the known (*ma'lūm*) by writing on the paper.⁵⁴⁰

Therefore, when Kāshānī stated that the inborn nature is the result of the Most Holy Grace, it is because the inborn nature is emanated from the Divine essence. In addition, as in this stage, the talent and potentialities of the perfections

⁵³⁴ Kāshānī, Risalah Qadā wa Qadar, in: Majmū 'ah Rasā 'il wa Muşannafāt Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, p. 587.

⁵³⁵ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlat al-Qur'ān* published under the *Tafsīr Ibn Arabī*, see Tafsīr Sūrah *Rūm* (30: 30); *Zumar* (39: 1-2).

⁵³⁶ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, see Abkabūt (29: 1).

⁵³⁷ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān Maryam* (19: 94) and *A'rāf* (7: 54); Hadīd (57: 2).

⁵³⁸ *Hūd* (11: 1).

⁵³⁹ Kāshānī, Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Maryam (19: 94); Jāmī, Naqd al-Nuşūş, p. 42.

⁵⁴⁰ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, *Hashr* (59: 22); *Ankabūt* (29: 1).

is bestowed to immutable entities;⁵⁴¹and the human being has potentialities of perfection bestowed to him due to the will of God.⁵⁴²

Therefore, as the reality of inborn nature is originated from the essence of God, everyone is enthusiastic to seek perfection and this tendency is a quality of stability and it never changes.⁵⁴³The attempt of the man on the path to gain perfection, leads him to become like God; in other words, to try to manifest his talent of perfection from potentiality to actuality. In essence, these potentialities are Divine attributes, which are within the human being in potential, but each soul is different in terms of which attributes have actualized and to what degree they have become luminous. However, the stage of chivalry is the manifestation of the pure belief in God (*tawhīd*).

As mentioned before, the manifestation of the real Being begins with immutability in the knowledge of God, and finally finds external existence. Thus, by the external existence, the human being is associated with certain innate knowledge of the heart. Therefore, at the stage of chivalry, the appearance of the inborn nature is associated with a kind of vision or revelation (*mukashafah*),⁵⁴⁴through which the chivalrous one can vision the truth of his real being. Kāshānī identified the type of this knowledge by chivalry as knowledge of certainty (*'ilm al-yaqīn*).⁵⁴⁵

According to him, this knowledge refers to the knowledge of Unity $(tawh\bar{i}d)$, which is part of the man's inner nature and is confirmed in his intellect. When the man is released from sensual and carnal attachments, this knowledge

⁵⁴¹ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān Ibid*, *Al-Raḥmān* (55: 1); *Maryam* (19: 94); *Luqmān* (31: 34).

⁵⁴² Ibid, *Āli* 'Imrān (3: 165).

⁵⁴³ *Ibid*, *Maryam* (19: 94); *Qaşaş* (28: 28).

⁵⁴⁴ Kāshānī, Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Kaşaiş al-Fityān, p. 528.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

will be revealed to him and he will realize that it is the most apparent knowledge;⁵⁴⁶since, it is certainly nothing than the testimony of their beings.⁵⁴⁷ In other words, this knowledge is the knowledge, which God trusted to the human by the Divine Covenant, through which human beings instinctively confess the Divinity (*rubūbiyyah*) of God.⁵⁴⁸

This inner knowledge will be revealed by the appearance of the inborn nature.⁵⁴⁹In *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, Kāshānī called this knowledge as the descent of intellect or criterion of intellect (*'aql furqānī*).⁵⁵⁰ The criterion of intellect is a vision, by which the man is capable to perceive himself in the world and to realize the coordination of his unlimited potential with the real Being. This is the common point of humanity. Although, humans are distinguished from each other in their state of animal nature, they are the same in their origin. That is why divorcement is caused in the stage of animal nature, when the man follows his desires and vices. Therefore, as long as a human take steps in the way of his inborn nature, he will come closer to his creator as well as to humans and will feel more unity towards them. In contrast, as much as the man conforms to his desires, he will get away from the unity become distant to unity as well as come in conflict with other humans. That is the reason for the existence of different thoughts and conflicts among people, because they follow their desires instead of believing in Unity.

On the basis of this view, Kāshānī described chivalry as a quality necessary for the pure Abrahamic inborn nature. Abraham becomes the father of chivalry;

⁵⁴⁶ Kāshānī, *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Kaṣaiṣ al-Fityān*, p. 528.

⁵⁴⁷ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, *Baqarah* (2: 27).

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid and Maria De Cillis (2013), Free Will and Predestination in Islamic Thought: Theoretical Compromises in the Works of Avicenna, Al-Ghazzalī and Ibn 'Arabi, London, Routledge, p. 173.

⁵⁴⁹ Kāshānī, Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Baqarah (2: 27).

⁵⁵⁰ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, *Āli 'Imrān* (3: 7).

since, he was an upright person ($han\bar{i}f$), whose faith came to demonstration by clearing out the paganism and idolatry.⁵⁵¹As we know the true believer ($han\bar{i}f$) is held in contrast with pagan (*mushrik*) and Abraham is in fact the father of all who believe in Unity. On the other hand, Kashan \bar{i} stressed upon Abraham, who possesses the pure heart (*qalb sal\bar{i}m*).⁵⁵² Thus, the chivalry is the stage of a healthy and pure heart, and is the starting point of the basic knowing, and make clear the distinction between truth and falsehood and the basic motivation for gaining perfections.

Therefore, we come to conclude that Kāshānī determined the conception of the inborn nature as the fundamental notion of chivalry, which presents certain qualities of human beings as:

- 1. The reality of human being is emanated from the Divine essence
- 2. The reality of human being is stable and never changes
- Human has potentiality of perfection within himself bestowed by God
- 4. The innate knowledge of heart is to confess the Divinity of God

Consequently, according to Kāshānī, chivalry, in essence, is a state of eternal purification with which the human being is associated. This state is stable and contains an innate knowledge to the real Being, the reality of human being and his dignity. Therefore, the fundamental column of chivalry is to reveal this knowledge. This knowledge is very much related to the knowledge of Unity. The fundamental column of this knowledge contains the battle with soul's desire and pleasure in order to liberate the inborn nature from the worldly material

⁵⁵¹ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Yūsuf* (12: 106,108); *Ḥajj* (22: 78).

⁵⁵² Kāshānī, Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān, p. 527.

limitation. When the soul is released from vices, the heart of the man became pure and faultless and comes to connection to God as His servant, Therefore, we can conclude that the chivalry is the stage of pure heart (*qalb salīm*) and the chivalry one is the adherence of his inborn nature (*insān fiţrī*). This stage is the most significant element for the human life. It constitutes the tradition of his life and guides him to the goal of human's life.

As we see, Kāshānī's chivalry involves the interconnection of chivalry with the innate human beings, especially the innate knowledge of human beings. This knowledge, indeed, embodied the central theme of the chivalry by Suhrawardī, as he divided knowledge in two categories: legislation (*Sharī'ah*) and spiritual path (Tarīqah).⁵⁵³ Then he identified chivalry as spiritual path. In this regard, he explained that during the Prophet Seth, chivalry was not separated from the spiritual path. By the time of the Prophet Abraham, however, some people aspired to go through the way of spiritual path, but they were not strong enough to accomplish the way, and came to him and asked him to show a lighter way. Abraham searched in the sea of the spiritual path and found the island of the chivalry.⁵⁵⁴So, from that time on, chivalry and spiritual path are divided. Therefore, according to Suhrawardī, the way of chivalry is a part of the way of spiritual path. For him, the kernel of the legislation is the spiritual path and kernel of the spiritual path is the Truth, and chivalry is the kernel of the Truth.⁵⁵⁵Therefore, his concern is upbringing the disciples on the path of chivalry, in which the role of teaching and guiding the master is

⁵⁵³ Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 93.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 90-94.

prominent.⁵⁵⁶That is why his chivalry letter contains the moral instruction between the master and the disciple. With respect of this fact, both Suhrawardī and Kāshānī shared the idea that the chivalry is grounded on the land of spiritual path and Abraham is the beginning point of this path.⁵⁵⁷

However, while Kāshānī speaks about the appearance of the inborn nature, which entails the reality of the human being, Suhrawardī speaks about the two dimensions of chivalry. According to him, the outward of chivalry is the legislation (*fatwā*) and its inward is forgiveness. By legislation the justice will arise; however, forgiveness is manifestation of God's mercy, kindness and love. Therefore, his chivalry letter contains plenty of stories, in which a crime must be punished according to the law, but it is forgiven according to the chivalry, and in all of them the forgiver has been praised by the Prophet (p.b.u.h). Thus, law and forgiveness are two main keys in Suhrawardī's chivalry, which are related to the matters of jurisprudence and chivalry (as between the Sufis and Jurists). Although the law is necessary to obey in general, forgiveness is necessary to obey by chivalry. Therefore, Suhrawardī deals with a manner that functions as a kind of a substation of Sufi's morality based on tolerance and forgiveness, in which God, divine law and chivalry are interrelated. While, according to Kāshānī, chivalry is the possession of certain inner qualities and characteristics.

Therefore, irrespective of the structure of their chivalry letter, Kāshānī and Suhrawardī both are agreeing on the reality of chivalry hidden behind its surface. In fact, Suhrawardī's definition is grounded on his ontology based on the belief that there are two faces for the existence: outward and inward. And,

⁵⁵⁶ Lloyd V. J. Ridgeon (2011), *Jawanmardi: A Sufi Code of Honour*, Edinburgh University Press, p. 104.

⁵⁷ Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 93, 98, 99 and Kāshānī, *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān*, p. 527, 558.

consequently, there is a progress from outer action to the inner state. ⁵⁵⁸ Kāshānī, however, considers it as the quality of potentiality of perfection within the reality of a human being. Therefore, Suhrawardī estimated six exoteric ($z\bar{a}hir$) and six esoteric ($b\bar{a}tin$) qualities for chivalry. The six exoteric qualities are derived from the chivalry's clothing as: the belt of trousers (avoidance of adultery), the belt of tummy (avoidance of forbidden food), the belt of tongue (avoidance of backbite and accusation), the belt of eyes and ears (avoidance of what is forbidden to see and to hear according to the divine law), the belt of greed and desire. The six esoteric qualities are: Generosity, humility, magnificence, forgiveness, annihilation of ego and awareness in the stage of nearness (*qurb*), in which he may lose his intellect because of the arrogance.⁵⁵⁹Although these qualities are considered by Kāshānī, they are studied in cardinal archetype of virtues in four categories as chastity, courage, wisdom and justice.

Much of what Kāshānī understood about chivalry is found in its counterpart Wāiẓ Kāshifī's chivalry. According to him, chivalry is the appearance of the inborn nature and its domination on the darkness of the soul until the vices vanish.⁵⁶⁰ He stated that chivalry is the Divine light rooted in a human being and, when it will shine, the good character will appear.⁵⁶¹As we see, he combined the light of the School of Suhrawardī with the appearance of inborn nature of Kāshānī, and came to the result that spiritual chivalry is the complete human

⁵⁵⁸ Josef W. Meri, Jere L. Bacharach (2006), *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopaedia*, New York, Taylor & Francis, Vol. 2, p. 776 and Phyllis G. Jestice (2004), *Holy People of the World: a Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia*, USA, ABC-CLIO, p. 828.

⁵⁵⁹ Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 94-98.

⁵⁶⁰ Wāiz Kāshifi, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī, p. 136.

⁵⁶¹ Kathryn Babayan (2002), *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*, Harvard CMES, p.188.

virtues (*kamāl faḍāil insānī*).⁵⁶²According to him, this perfection comes off through the performance of Divine legislation.⁵⁶³ Therefore, similar to Kāshānī, Wāiẓ Kāshifī speaks of chivalry in terms of appearance of inborn nature, but reflected in Sufism with extremely complex ethical form and the legislation of chivalry.

He, indeed, estimated chivalry for the first time as a kind of knowledge, which is substation of the knowledge of Sufism. He identifies the cognition of the soul as the main subject of this knowledge. In this point, it is similar to Kāshānī's chivalry, in which the matter of appearance of the inborn nature requires the purification of the soul. Therefore, both have the same approach to chivalry which is the battle of the man with the soul's temptations and desires.

As mentioned above, he reconstructed chivalry in the form of Sufism and determined four hundred and forty four stations for it, which are classified in four main spiritual stations as: repentance (*tawbah*), fear (*khawf*), holy fight (*jihād*) and patience (*şabr*).⁵⁶⁴ While, Kāshānī's structure on practical chivalry is similar to that of cardinal category of virtues, as mentioned above.

In short, although chivalry is considered by the three authors as the moral codes subordinated of Sufism, by Suhrawardī, it is predominantly a relaxed attitude towards exacting punishment for crimes, for which the Divine law legally estimated. However, the primordial spiritual view of chivalry is crystallized into living tradition of thought by Kāshānī. He incorporates Suhrawardī's chivalry on purification to the intellectual preparation and described chivalry based on universal doctrine, that man is made in the image of God and thereby is God's

⁵⁶² Wāiz Kāshīfī, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī, p. 136.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶⁴ Wāiz Kāshifi, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sultānī, p. 157.

representative on earth.⁵⁶⁵ Hence, he created a perfect harmony between chivalry, his substitution and Unity ($tawh\bar{t}d$). He dealt in depth with matter of chivalry ranging from the philosophical and ethical basis. His chivalry followed the School of illumination of Suhrawardī by purification of the soul, while it is combined with the intellectual's vision.

On the other hand, the definition of chivalry presented by later Sufis like Wāiẓ Kāshifī, is much affected by the esoteric notion of Kāshānī's. However, he is more concerned with defining chivalry within the Sufi's tradition of courtesy, in which the importance of courtesy is very much higher than the plane purification.

6.2 THE FOUNDATION OF CHIVALRY

Kāshānī identified the purification of the soul as the base of chivalry. From the fact that God is the center of existence, everything is a manifestation of Him. As the chivalry is the sheer and pure state of the human, it will manifest if the inborn nature appears. And the appearance of inborn nature depends upon removing the worldly attachments and attractions. That is why the first step of chivalry is identified as nobility (*muruwwah*); since, it is the man's battle with the soul and his plagues and temptations.⁵⁶⁶In this regard, Abraham is the symbol of the first appearance of the chivalry; since, he broke all idols and forbear money, family and himself.

With respect of this, as mentioned before, chivalry is tied with the knowledge of self; hence, to excavate the layers of a human being, its different levels lead us to realize how chivalry is grounded on human real being. In

⁵⁶⁵ Kāshānī, *Risalah Mabd' wa Ma'ād*, p. 277 and Masnad Ahmad, Vol. 2, p. 244.

⁵⁶⁶ Kāshānī, Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 529, 527

addition, the connection point between God and human is through the pure inborn nature,⁵⁶⁷ and the basic pillar of this connection is avoidance of the vices and evils, the last part contains an explanation about the nature of vices and virtues.

6.2.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUL

In Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Kāshānī stated that the soul is a subtle substance that contains the potentiality of life, love and any action based on intention.⁵⁶⁸ He estimated three faculties for the soul as soul (*nafs*), heart (*qalb*) and spirit ($r\bar{u}h$). The soul is one of the different levels of a human being,⁵⁶⁹ while the body is merely the form. The human soul is an immaterial substance, which is the center of human being and it is extensive in its essence. It is capable to develop and with the help of other human powers can be perfectly complete. Basically, the soul is the place for perfections and it is also capable of achieving knowledge.⁵⁷⁰ However, Kāshānī proposed three stages for the soul:

The commanding soul (nafs ammārah). This level of soul is under 1. the control of the body, in the sense that it considers the demands and desires of the physical body of a human and it responds to the commands of sensual pleasure and lust.⁵⁷¹ Usually, this level of soul leans towards following the material world as the spiritual.⁵⁷² When Sufis talk about fighting the soul (*nafs*), they refer to this level of the soul. If the vices and evils place in it forever, the

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 527.

⁵⁶⁸ Kāshānī, Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah, p. 115 and Sayeh Meisami (2013), Mulla Sadra, One world publication, p. 74. ⁵⁶⁹ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, *Nūr* (24: 55).

⁵⁷⁰ Kāshānī, Risālah Mabda' Wa Ma'ād, in: Rasā'il Wa Muşannafāt Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, p. 294-297. ⁵⁷¹ Kāsh

Kāshānī, Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah, p. 115; kāshānī, Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Vol. 1, p. 62; Ghazzālī, Ihyā al-'Ulūm al-Dīn, English Translation by Fazl-Ul-Karim, Vol. 3, Darul Ishaat, Pakistan, p. 7-8 and Vaughan, Frances (2005), Shadows of the Sacred: Seeing Through Spiritual Illusions, USA, Universe, p. 120. ⁵⁷² Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Hūd* (11: 52).

man will transform to bestial levels of being. Thus, Kāshānī identifies the soul as the greatest enemy of the man and asks God for His forgiveness; since; the sin makes the soul rebel and deprives him of God.⁵⁷³

Therefore, as much as this level rises up, more veils cover him and he could not be able to perceive the truth.⁵⁷⁴In this level, he obeys the command of the soul's desires and will lead toward the arrogance (*istikbar*) and pagan (*shirk*).⁵⁷⁵ Thus. Kāshānī resembled this level of the soul to the body, which has to be sacrificed in the way of achieving the Truth.⁵⁷⁶

2. The blaming soul (nafs lawwāmah): This is the stage of awakening the soul. It will illuminate by the light of the heart to become aware from negligence.⁵⁷⁷ When the conscience is awakened, it begins to recover itself, while it is hesitant between two directions of divinity and creature. Whenever something bad emanates from the darkness of the soul, the light of divine awakening will overtake it and it begins to blame itself, in order to turn from it, and it will return to the door of forgiving and ask for forgiveness.⁵⁷⁸ That is why God mentions it on oath: "Nay I call to witness the blaming soul." (75:2).⁵⁷⁹

3. The soul at peace (nafs mutma'innah): In this level, the soul is released from all evil qualities and is completely illuminated by the light of the heart.⁵⁸⁰ It is attached by praiseworthy characters and it is directed to the level of the heart. The heart is directed to rise up toward the world of the holiness and is

⁵⁷³ Ibid, A'rāf (7: 155); Ibid, Ibrāhīm (14: 41).

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid*, *Ahzāb* (33: 1).

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid, Ahzāb (33: 72); Kahf (18: 24).

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid, Ahzāb (33: 72); Kahf (18: 24); Kāshānī, Iştilāhāt al -Sūfiyyah, p. 116.

⁵⁷⁷ Kāshānī, Istilāhāt al Sūfiyyah, p. 115 and Ghazālī, Ihyā al- 'Ulūm al-Dīn, English Translation, p. 9. ⁵⁷⁸ Kāshānī, *Işțilāḥāt al-Sūfiyyah*, p. 115 and Lory, *Les Commentaries*, Persian trans., p.129.

⁵⁷⁹ Istilāhāt al -Sūfiyyah, p. 115-116.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid*

pure from uncleanness and is intent towards acts of obedience.⁵⁸¹ It is dwelling in the presence of the highest degree until his Lord addresses him "O soul at peace return to your Lord well pleased and well placing!"⁵⁸²

As we can see, these nonphysical dimensions of the man are the same reality but on different levels, in other words they are human potentials on various dimensions of his being. However, in Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah, Kāshānī describes the rational soul (*nafs nātiqah*).⁵⁸³For him, the rational soul is an abstract illuminated substance, which is also called heart. And, it is higher than the soul, for it is the source of faith, light of intellect and place of the perceptions and guidance.⁵⁸⁴In addition, the place of appearance of the Unity is the heart and the knowledge of the certainty (*'ilm al-yaqīn*) is rooted in it.⁵⁸⁵In *T'wīlat al-Qu'ān*, Kāshānī stated by the process of perfection, the man will become alive at the stage of the soul and then, he dies. After that, he will become alive at the stage of the heart, and then he dies again and will become alive at the stage of the stage of the stage of annihilation.⁵⁸⁶

According to Kāshānī, the human's soul has flexibility of two quite opposite sides: The celestial world and the inferior world. ⁵⁸⁷Although the primitive soul (*nafs*) is essential for the earthly life of human, it acts as an obstacle for the development of the soul. Its attributions prevent the manifestation of human potentiality. Consequently, the man would not be able to perceive the

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid*.

⁵⁸² Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Al-Fajr (89: 27).

⁵⁸³ Işțilāhāt al-Ṣūfiyyah, p 162.

⁵⁸⁴ Kāshānī, *Risālah Mabd' Wa Maʿād*, p. 286 and *Isțilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, p. 162.

⁵⁸⁵ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, *Nisā'*, (4: 31). In the same source it is stated that the knowledge of certainty (*'ilm al-yaqīn*) is emanated from the heart and the vision of certainty (*'ayn al-yaqīn*) is emanated from the spirit and truth of certainty (*haq al-yaqīn*) is emanated from the stage of Unity (*maqām waḥdat*).

⁵⁸⁶ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, *Qāf* (41-43); *Jāthiyyah*, 26.

⁵⁸⁷ Kāshānī, Risālah Mabda' wa Ma'ād, p. 292-293.

light of his inborn nature.⁵⁸⁸On the other hand, if the man controls his commanded soul, the soul can be improved to the level of the heart. Therefore, heart is a state of the soul, which prevents the soul to be headed by the commanded soul.

As we can see, for Kāshānī, the acknowledgement of the ego is the great obstacle of man's journey to appearance of his real being.⁵⁸⁹ From this stand point, shaving the hair became one of chivalry's rituals; since, it is referring to disappearing all obstacles of ascendance and it is the beginning of the required elements of the real human being.

On the other hand, by the real Being, means to believe that the only real Being is God. It is the opposite of the idolatry (*shirk*), by which the man supposes an illusion of self that he has an independent existence and a certain worth.⁵⁹⁰ As the chivalry is considered as the stage of the Unity, consequently, the chivalrous one possesses the illustrative soul, for he knows that there is no real being except God.⁵⁹¹

Therefore, we can assume the chivalry is the stage of heart, which not only leads the soul, but also the intellectual understanding.⁵⁹²It is the quality of the real life associated with the presence and knowledge of the heart.⁵⁹³The base of chivalry is founded in the real human being; meaning that chivalry is a spiritual state, an innate human state, which will only appear when the man is able to win his desires and temptation of the soul.

⁵⁸⁸ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Ra'd* (13: 14)

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid, Insān (76: 22).

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid*, *An* 'ām (6: 24).

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid*, *Najm* (53: 58).

⁵⁹² Kāshānī, *Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān*, p. 528, 543; Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, Mursalāt (77: 13); *Yūsuf*, 96.

⁵⁹³ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, *Tūr* (52: 48).

Suhrawardī shared the idea with Kashānī that the human soul is the center of a human being and is composed of different levels. According to him, soul is an abstract matter emanated from the world of the light. It is originally lives in angelic domain or in the Orient.⁵⁹⁴ So, the soul is from the world of light and considered as the innermost center of the human being. Therefore, Suhrawardī identified the soul as the lordly light or al-nur al- ispahbadi.⁵⁹⁵ According to him, the Lordly light is an emanation of the Supreme light, which is divided into parts: One part remains in the spiritual or angelic realm and the other is descended into the prison of the body.⁵⁹⁶This is called intellect soul (nafs nāțiqah), which is compatible with heart by the Islamic theologians. The intellect soul became entangled in the world of material and body. According to Illumination School, the body is considered as the vegetative soul (nafs nabātī), which is from the world of darkness and it is inferior and low.⁵⁹⁷

However, the body and the soul are in nature very contradictory, so they need an intermediate to come to connection. Therefore, Suhrawardī presumed another faculty of the soul as animal soul (nafs ḥaywānī), the intermediate between the body and the soul. The animal soul is a subtle substance possessing the both material and immaterial characters. Thus, it is supported with a kind of

⁵⁹⁴ Peter Adamson, Richard C. Taylor (2005), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge University press. p. 215.

⁵⁹⁵ Mehdi Amin Razavi Aminrazavi (2014), *Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination*, Routledge, p. 74 and Zailan Moris (2013), *Revelation, Intellectual Intuition and Reason in the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra: An Analysis of the Al-hikmah Al-'arshiyyah*, London, Routledge, p. 47.

⁵⁹⁶ Zailan Moris, *Revelation, Intellectual Intuition and Reason*, p. 47-48 and *Hazrat Shihabuddin Yahya al-Suhrawardi* (2013), Die Geschichte des Licht, Nordestedt, BoD-Books on Demand, p. 60-61.

⁵⁹⁷ Peter Adamson, Richard C. Taylor, *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, P. 215 and Mehdi Amin Razavi Amin razavi &Seyyed Hosein Nasr (2013), *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition Persia*, New York, Routledge, p. 42-43.

tolerance, which can resolve the contradiction between the soul and the body or, in other words, between the world of light and the world of darkness.⁵⁹⁸

With respect of this view, the body and related material attachments are counting as the greatest obstacle for the soul and returning to its true home in the world of light. Only by the purification through asceticism, the illumination of the light will be possible and the soul can govern the body.⁵⁹⁹ The attachments to the body prevent the soul from joining the world of intellect. However, when the bodily attachments are eliminated, the heart of the man will illuminate by a shining light.⁶⁰⁰

Therefore, according to Suhrawardī, although the soul possesses the central core of human being, it has different levels due to the degree to which the soul is shining. The lowest level represents the center of corporal needs and temptations, which is ruled by the esneible external desires. Thereupon, the most important part of a human being is the transcendence of the soul from its lowest level to the level of intellect soul.⁶⁰¹ This development of the soul is also considered in chivalry letter of Suhrawardī. Although he discussed chivalry on the practical level and did not focus on the Philosophical aspect, we can find his concern of development of soul by his designation of twelve pillars for chivalry, beginning with necessary purification of the soul and ending with attaining certain

⁵⁹⁸ Ian Philip McGreal (1995), *Great Thinkers of the Eastern World: The Major Thinkers and the Philosophical and Religious Classics of China, India, Japan, Korea and the World of Islam,* USA, Harper Collins Publ., p. 471.

⁵⁹⁹ Mehdi Amin, Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination, p. 16 and Anne-Teresa Tymieniecka (2006), Islamic Philosophy and Occidental Phenomenology on the Perennial Issues of Microcosms and Macrocosm, Netherlands, Springer, p. 267.

⁶⁰⁰ Mehdi Amin, *Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination*, p. 15-17.

⁶⁰¹ Qamar-ul Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, p. 77 and Lloyd V. J. Ridgeon (2011), *Jawanmardi*, Edinburgh University Press, p. 171.

virtues.⁶⁰²The scheme of twelve pillars depict that the essential center of the chivalry is the transcendence of the soul from its lower level to the level of intellect.

As previously stated, Kashifī identified chivalry as one of the spiritual knowledge, of which its main subject is the knowledge of the soul (*nafs*). According to Wāiz Kāshifī, soul represents the ego and the egoism makes deviate the soul from the direction of the heavenly stations; while, spirit (*ruh*) represents God in human. The spirit is from the light, whereas ego originates from the fire. When the fire dominates the human's life; it means his spirit is imprisoned in the physical body and the loss of his connection with Divine reality. From this perspective, there are two diametrically opposed human faculties, the spirit and the ego, within the nature of the human.⁶⁰³Therefore, the center of chivalry letter of Wāiz Kāshifī is based on battle with ego through strict reliance upon religious duties, and following the spiritual master.

In this regard, in Wāiẓ Kāshifī's chivalry letter we encounter the pattern of the practical purification of the soul, the same as Suhrawardī through twelve pillars with very little difference.

Therefore, we can conclude that three authors are agreeing on the human reality hidden behind his material surface, which is capable to develop. They identified the soul as the place of perfection, while they defined different levels for it, which, in fact, are considered as different degrees of the human beings'

⁶⁰² Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 94-98 (The six exoteric qualities are avoidance of adultery, avoidance of forbidden food, avoidance of backbite and accusation, avoidance of what is forbidden to see and to hear according to the divine law, avoidance of stealing and oppression and avoidance of greed and desire. The six esoteric qualities are generosity, humility, magnificence, forgiveness, annihilation of ego and awareness in the stage of nearness).

⁶⁰³ Wāiẓ Kāshifī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh Sultānī*, p. 167, 227, 444 and Tayfun Atay (2012), *A Muslim Mystic Community in Britain*, BoD – Books on Demand, p. 150-151.

potentials. Moreover, they recognized the ego as lowest level of the soul. Despite that it is necessary for the earthly life of humans it is the center of evil and vices.

In three considered chivalry letters, the progression of the development of the soul can be found due to the battle with the evils and vices. According to Kāshānī, the battle is formed in two levels: first, nobility, which is the stage of purifying the soul and second, the shamefulness ($hay\bar{a}$ '), which is self-limitation and fear to commit sin any more. This progression can be found by Suhrawardī and Wāiz Kāshifī by twelve pillars. The six exoteric pillars consider the observation and avoidance of the soul from vices, and the six esoteric pillars are related to the virtues, which must be attained.

6.2.2 THE ENTITY OF THE VIRTUES AND VICES

As the base of the chivalry is the purification the soul, Kāshānī mentioned to very significant issues, whether virtues and vices are innate human beings or they are accidental effects. As his style of writing, he briefly appointed to these issues. However, when we estimated that the core of chivalry is the appearance of the real human nature and because it is due to the battle with the vices, it is important to know about the entity of vices and virtues. The discussion is based on data collection of different treatise of Kashānī. It is notable that despite lack of theoretical discussion in chivalry letters of Suhrawardī and Wāiẓ Kāshifī, we consider their ideas based on their theology in order to be able to compare with Kāshānī's. On the other hand, as the matter of the vices and virtues might include other sub-issues, the domain of this discussion is limited to the realm of chivalry ethics.

The question of virtues and vices can be answered differently on the basis of diverse approaches to the human beings. Kāshānī, by assumption, declares an abstract stable truth as human inborn nature, for the human beings comes to the result that all kinds of his talents and natural powers are rooted within the human being. According to him, God is the source of the existence of man and the existence of everything is dependent on Him.⁶⁰⁴ There is no existence (*wujūd*) except Him. The world of the witness (*ālam shahādah*) is His outward (*zāhir*), and the world of the unseen (*ghayb*) is His inward (*bāțin*). And, every inward has an outward, so there are some of His attributions that manifest on His outward form.⁶⁰⁵

On the basis of this ontological view, there is no other existence than manifestation of God's attributions.⁶⁰⁶ In addition, in the way of perfection, the man should prove God's qualities perfectly on all levels of his existence. Thus, when we speak about virtuous behavior, we mean the various appearances of God's attributions in numerous forms and types; since, virtues are involved in very nature of God. That is why Kāshānī considered virtues as necessary within human beings.⁶⁰⁷Therefore, the man can attain the perfection, when he manifests those qualities, which constitutes the transcendent perfection.

On the basis of this approach, the social external circumference elements can never create abilities in human beings they only can provide a suitable ground to flourish. And, on the contrary, the appearance of the human's abilities can act as a barrier. Therefore, every barrier to appearance of the transcendental

⁶⁰⁴ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, *Baqarah* (2:163, 256).

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid, An'ām (6: 91); Baqarah (2: 116); Mā'idah (5: 73).

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid, Rūm (30:17-18); Ghāfir (40: 62).

⁶⁰⁷ Kāshānī, Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 529.

qualities is considered as a vice.⁶⁰⁸This is the most abstract meaning that Kāshānī provided for the matter of vices as limitation, the tantamount to the veil ($hij\bar{a}b$).⁶⁰⁹

In fact, as the fundamental concept of the School of *Wahdah al-Wujūd* is the matter of appearance (*zuhūr*) of truth, in contrast, everything which prevents the reappearance is considered as the veil. In the meaning that on the way of transcendence perfection, everything that prevents man to complete this way would be considered as vices. Therefore, the moral mistakes come to relation with the concept of veils of truth. That is why the great sin for Kāshānī is identified as the great obstacle, the ego and acknowledgement of the self; since, the birth of the man opens the way of recognizing another independent being besides the Real Being.⁶¹⁰

In this regard, in *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, by interpreting the verse related to the request of the human for forgiveness from God, Kāshānī mentioned three levels of veils, by which the man is deprived of the joy of happiness: the veils of actions, veils of attributions and veils of essence.

According to Kāshānī, the veils of actions precede the veils of attributions and the veils of attributions are preceded by the veils of essence; since, the essence of God is hidden by His attributions and His attributions are hidden by His actions and His actions are hidden by the worlds of beings and substances.⁶¹¹

The veils of essence implies the concept of Unity of essence $(tawh\bar{\iota}d dh\bar{a}t)$, which is beyond the boundaries of actions and attributions. In other words, God is recognized as the only Real Being, which has no internal partnership, division,

⁶⁰⁸ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlat al-Qur'ān*, An'ām (6: 1) and Lory, *Les Commentaries esoteriques du Quran*, Persian trans., p.145-155.

⁶⁰⁹ Lory, Les Commentaries esoteriques du Quran, Persian trans., P. 145-147.

⁶¹⁰ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, Baqarah (2: 286).

⁶¹¹ *Ibid*, *Fātihah* (1: 1).

plurality or distinction within himself. Therefore, in Islam, polytheist (*shirk*) is considered as an unforgivable sin.⁶¹²

The veils of attributions imply the concept of Unity of attributions ($tawh\bar{t}d$ *sifāt*), in the meaning that all attributions of humans and others emanated from their origin in God. Therefore, independent subsistence of attributions is considered as the veil; since, despite numerous attributions of God, they are within His essence.⁶¹³

However, the veils of actions imply the Unity of actions ($tawh\bar{\iota}d af'\bar{a}l$), which is the lowest level and it is the starting point of the human's battle to attain truth, according to Kāshānī.⁶¹⁴The veil of action pertains to every action and secondary cause besides God's action. The world and everything related to it is considered as the deterrent agent and veils to appearance the Unity.⁶¹⁵Since, God is the source of everything and the only effective consistency and cause of creation. Therefore, designation of the existential forms in the human's heart, which prevent the manifestation of the truth into the heart, is considered as the veil of actions.⁶¹⁶

According to Kāshānī, the veils of actions are the first level that man is able to remove,⁶¹⁷ since, it is related to the world of presence (*ʿālim shahādaht*), which contains the surface and substances in this world.⁶¹⁸ With respect to this, at the stage of chivalry the entire world of presence and natural motivations should

 ⁶¹² Kāshānī, *Risālah Tashrīqāt*, p. 342-346; Association of Academies (1934), *The Encyclopaedia of Islām: A dictionary of the geography, ethnography and biography of the Muhammadan peoples*, Vol. 4, E. J. Brill ltd., p. 334-335 and Jean Louis Michon (2000), *Lights of Islam: Institutions, Cultures, Arts and Spirituality in the Islamic City*, Islamabad, Lok Virsa, p. 199.
 ⁶¹³ Kāshānī, *Risālah Tashrīqāt*, p. 339-340.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid*.

⁶¹⁵ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, Baqarah (2: 163).

⁶¹⁶ Kāshānī, Risālah Tashrīqāt, p. 332-334; Kāshānī, Istilāhāt al-Şūfiyyah, p. 81.

⁶¹⁷ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, Baqarah (2: 163).

⁶¹⁸ Kāshānī, Risālah Tashrīqāt, p. 332.

annihilate in order the truth of the human being can appear. Kāshānī, indeed, called this stage of unity as the spiritual state of trust $(tawakk\bar{u}l)$.⁶¹⁹In this state, the traveler $(s\bar{a}lik)$ acknowledges that God is the source of all strength and power. It means that every motion, effort, movement and occurrence that takes place in this world is associated with the primary cause of this world, God.⁶²⁰

However, in Suhrawardīs' chivalry letter we cannot find any trace of theoretical discussion about the identity of the virtues and vices; yet, we know that according to the School of Illumination the source of the creation is based on the conflict between good and evils or light and darkness.⁶²¹ Despite the eternal contrast between light and darkness, the light possesses the central core. The light is the being and most obvious of all beings and its essence needs no definition; since, its nature is to manifest itself, while darkness is its absence and nothingness.⁶²² Therefore, the necessary Being is pure goodness and its nature is the most complete and intelligent of the beings. Thus, He emanates only pure mercifulness, while the evils are not intrinsic substantiation.⁶²³

On the other hand, Suhrawardī calls the absolute Reality as light of lights or Supreme light and every light is a degree of the effusion of that primordial light. With respect of this view, the essence of the soul is light and possesses a higher level, while the body is darkness and possesses a lower level; thus, there is a conflict between the body and the soul. Therefore, according to Suhrawardī's anthropology, the human being is locked up in the world of sense but he still has the ability to escape from the cage of body and return to its original dwelling. In

⁶¹⁹ Kāshānī, Risālah Tashrīqāt, p. 334.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid*.

⁶²¹ Mehdi Amin Razavi Aminrazavi, Seyyed Hossein Nasr (2013), *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia*, Routledge, p. 137 and N. Hanif (2002), *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis: Central Asia and Middle East*, Vol. 2, Sarup & Sons, p. 489.

⁶²² *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia*, p.137.

⁶²³ Mehdi Amin Razavi, p.14.

the path of happiness, the soul must release from the darkness of body and all that is worldly and material to attain the world of immaterial light.⁶²⁴

Thereupon, according to Suhrawardī, in the realm of ethics, virtues are radiation of lights within the human soul, and the body and the material attachments are vices, which are rooted in the desire and human senses. Because of this the, Suhrawardī's School is entwined with the rigorous asceticism; since, the soul should win the obstacles in order to be prepared to receive the Divine lights. This idea is displayed in his chivalry letter when he wanted to identify the pillars of chivalry. He, first, counted six exoteric characters, which imply necessary natural disposition of the human as eating, speaking, seeing, listening, acting, and sexual instinct and sense of survival, which must be controlled and governed by the human.⁶²⁵ Suhrawardī categorized them under the exoteric pillars; since, they present human being at the level of vegetative. They are essential for a human because of his life in the material world, but they do not form the reality of human being. The reality of human beings, according to Suhrawardī, appeared by shining the Divine light. Therefore, as mentioned above, virtues are the essential radiation of Divine light. Hence, Suhrawardī identified the rest of pillars of the qualities like generosity, humility, magnificence, forgiveness, annihilation of ego and represents them as the esoteric pillars; since, they are qualities within a human being which constitute the reality of a human being.

⁶²⁴ "Suhrawardi" In: Encyclopedia of Philosophy digitalizes:

Plato.stanford.edu/entries/suhrawardi.

⁶²⁵ Binyamin Abrahamov (2013), *Divine Love in Islamic Mysticism: The Teachings of Al-Ghazâlî* and Al-Dabbâgh, New York, Routledge, p. 16 and Qawani, Shoheen (2012), "The concept of man in Suhrawardi Philosophy", translated from Persian by S. Khojaniyozov, in: *Ishraq* (Islamic Culture Research Foundation), Moscow, Year Book Publ., Vol. 3, p. 456.

Wāiẓ Kāshifī, also by explanation of the reality of the chivalry, made a connotation to the identity of virtues and vices. According to him, the man possesses two faces: the real one and the surface. His real face is his innate nature, which is pure and familiar with the whole good virtues, and his surface is the form affected by the condition of his growth in the society. The innate nature is familiar with the whole of virtues, while the part of his surface is covered by the material garments. So, to Wāiẓ Kāshifī, the ethical vices and bestial deeds are rooted in the society and the condition of the process of his training. Therefore, if the garment of his surface is removed, his real face appears with the whole virtues.⁶²⁶

As we can observe, virtues and vices are identified by Wāiź Kāshifī in the realm of mystical view which, the outward of everything, have an inward truth (*haqīqah*), and the spiritual path is the way to seek that truth. By Suhrawardī, the matter of virtues is discussed in the grounds of School of Illumination, while by Kāshānī, it is discussed in the domain of School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*. According to Kāshānī, virtues are manifestation of the God's attributions, while by Suhrawardī, they are different degrees of the radiation of the Supreme Light in a human soul. Although, these definitions seem to be apparently different, they agree on the ontology's view that the virtues are within the human nature. The inner reality, the manifestation and illumination, all require the sustainable qualities within human nature. In addition, they are sharing the idea that virtues will find their identity through association and affiliation of a human being with his origin, and affect the inner being (heart) of a human. While vices through any obstacle, interdict with accomplishing the perfection of a human being.

⁶²⁶ Wāiz Kāshifī, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulanī, p. 136-137.

6.3 THE DOCTRINE OF CHIVALRY

In the third introduction, Kāshānī is presenting the doctrine of chivalry referring to the statement of the pole of chivalry, 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. He estimated the basis of chivalry as loyalty, honesty, security, generosity, humility, advice, guidance and repentance. However, he discussed these items according to the four famous cardinal virtues as: chastity, courage, wisdom and justice. He put each two characters of the eight mentioned virtues beneath the four cardinal virtues: The repentance and generosity beneath the chastity, the humility and security beneath the courage, the truth and guidance beneath the wisdom and the advice and loyalty beneath the justice.⁶²⁷

This part is allocated to analysis of the doctrine of chivalry. However, in the construction of the analysis, wisdom and justice are selected as two cardinal virtues. The reason of this selection lays in the pervasive quality of wisdom and justice to the rest of the virtues; their concept has always been the key concept considered, when discussing the human, anthropology and human sciences. They are virtues, which have thrown their shadow on a human's deeds, as well as to his individuals and social relations. Although they are considered as separate virtues, they connote other virtues consideration as well.⁶²⁸

Therefore, it is appropriate to discuss wisdom and justice with respect to Kāshānī's view on the basis which might be useful in estimating the culmination of the principal constitution of the spiritual chivalry. In addition, comparing the chivalry letters of Suhrawardī and Wāiz Kāshifī, leads us to perceive the distinctive approaches to these principles. Indeed, despite differences, we will

⁶²⁷ Kāshānī, *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*, p. 531-532.

⁶²⁸ For example Kāshānī in his work *Risālah Tashrīqāt* considered chastity and courage as the primitive necessary elements of the justice.

discover how Sufis have been concerned to sustain the same principal key for the chivalry's path.

6.3.1 WISDOM

Kāshānī, generally, gives a comprehensive definition of wisdom in his Sufi's terms as one of the fundamental faculties of virtues. According to him, wisdom is the knowledge of existence as it is, and to define exactly the proper aspects of actions in the manner it should be done.⁶²⁹In *Işţilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, he expressed four kinds of wisdom: First, is the spoken wisdom (*al-ḥikmah al-manţūqah*), which is the knowledge of legislation (*sharī'ah*) and spiritual path (*tarīqah*). Second, is the unspoken wisdom (*al-ḥikmah al-maskūtah*), which is only understood by Sufis. Third, is the unknown wisdom (*al-ḥikmah al-majhūlah*), which refers to those acts of the Creator, the wisdom of which are unknown to the creatures. They are things in which we believe but we do not understand, such as death of children and the eternal fire of hell. Fourth, is the collective wisdom (*al-ḥikmah al-jāmi'ah*), which is the knowledge of the truth (*ḥaq*) and acting upon it, and the perception of the fault (*bāţil*) and rejection of it.⁶³⁰

In chivalry, however, wisdom is defined by Kāshānī as a kind of certainty, which is gained by the purification and cognition. According to him, the lowermost level of wisdom is truth (*sidq*) and its highest level is guidance (*hidāyah*). By truth, he demonstrated that wisdom is, in fact, nothing but the knowledge of the truth by guidance. Although, it may at first seem unrelated to the wisdom, if we consider carefully the content, it is apparent that Kāshānī

⁶²⁹ Kāshānī, Tuhfah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 521; Kāshānī, Işțilāhat al-Sūfiyyah, p.

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⁵³⁰ Kāshānī, *Isțilāḥat al-Sūfiyyah*, p. 83-84.

depicted what level of the knowledge of the truth is and how it would be achieved.

The main concern of truth is to attain the truth of things.⁶³¹ This comes from Kāshānī's ontology base on the School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*. As only the truth can see the truth, and in order to gain the truth of things the man should become like truth. Once he realizes the truth in himself, then he will realize the truth of God; since, according to the school of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, everything is the manifestation of the Truth. Realizing truth of oneself is to realize the truth of things which are numerous manifestations of the real Truth. According to Kāshānī, the truth is not possible without purification of the self; since, truth is reflected in the soul. This purification must be done simultaneously in three levels as purifying the intention, word and action. This level, for Kāshānī, is the boundary of differentiation of humans from all other creation.⁶³²

Knowledeg is required to gain the truth, which is classified by Kāshānī in two levels of guidance. The first level is to find the knowledge of God, acknowledgement of His being and His unity and to know His names and attributions. The second level is to follow the Divine orders from obligation, forbidden and permissible, in addition to knowledge of virtues and excellent characters.⁶³³

Therefore, guidance by Kāshānī is a cognitive process, which contains also the aspects of the refinement and development of the soul. This cognition at the level of the chivalry is presented as the eye of vision *('ayn al-başar)*. To understand what he meant by the eye of vision, we need to explain about the

⁶³¹ Tuhfah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 542.

⁶³² *Ibid*, p. 541.

⁶³³ *Ibid*, p. 544.

certainty and the vision. According to Kāshānī, there are three stages of certainty that are consistent with the three steps of Unity ($tawh\bar{i}d$) and different ranks of the faith of believers ($im\bar{a}n$).

The first stage is knowledge of certainty (*ilm al-yaqīn*), which is common in all believers.⁶³⁴Kāshānī called it also the stage of soul (*nafs*). This is the primary stage of the way to the truth; since, the believer stays between two veils: veil of attribution (*sifāt*) and veil of essence (*dhāt*). This stage is the source of innovation and intolerance on the basis of a weak understanding of truth, and disproves those who are not in the same stage or even are at the higher stage of knowledge.⁶³⁵

The second stage is eye of certainty (*'ayn al-yaqīn*), that is the stage of Unity of attribution. On the basis of Qurān, Kāshānī identifies it as the stage of satisfaction. In other words, it is the stage of heart (*qalb*); since, the heart is not alone in avoiding all evil temptations; rather, the eternal light of the peace shines in the heart of believer. That is the reason that the "People of the Cave" (Ashāb-i Kahf) had courage to stand up for the Unity.⁶³⁶So, Kāshānī alerts readers to the fact that the stage of witnessing started from this stage. This is the spiritual path through which the believer becomes aware of his inborn nature and achieves the stage of the heart. In this stage, chivalry is completed.

The third stage is the truth of certainty ($haq al-yaq\bar{n}$). In this stage, there are no veils between believer and God. This is the stage of spirit ($r\bar{u}h$).⁶³⁷Here, the believer can witness God without any veils of attributions and witnesses

⁶³⁴ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 1, p. 16.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 66-67.

⁶³⁶ Ibid, p. 17 and Tuhfah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 528.

⁶³⁷ Kāshānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 1, p. 10.

God's attributions without any veil of essence. According to Kāshānī, this stage is the level of total Unity that caused the eternal survival.⁶³⁸

On the other hand, Kāshānī defined vision in *Işţilāḥāt al-Ṣuffiyyah* as the faculty of heart, which is lightened by the Divine light. The possessor of the vision can see the inside and the truth of things. According to theologians, it is theoretical intelligent faculty (*quwwah 'āqilah naẓariyyah*). When this faculty is illuminated by the Divine lights, it becomes the Divine faculty (*quwwah qudsiyyah*).⁶³⁹Therefore, the eye of vision is the level between knowledge of certainty and eye of certainty. It is higher than knowledge of certainty; since, it is illuminated by the Divine light after purification of the soul.⁶⁴⁰It is released from intolerance at the level of knowledge of certainty; however, it is lower than the level of eye of certainty; since, this level belongs to the world of witnessing (*'ālam al-shahādah*).⁶⁴¹Thus, the eye of vision is the level between soul and heart. That is why Kāshānī asserted that the chivalrous one needs the eye of vision to attain wisdom.

Indeed, Kāshānī mentioned that the eye of vision needs the enlightenment of the heart (*farāsat*) and also the light of the *sharī'ah*. ⁶⁴²According to him, without the light of the *sharī'ah*, the possessor of the eye of vision takes in an unknown way and it is not possible for him to continue the way of chivalry. Therefore, it is necessary for disciple of chivalry to learn about all obligatory laws, recommended, forbidden, permissible things and virtues, excellent characters, praiseworthy ethics and beautiful qualities.⁶⁴³We can see that Kāshānī

⁶³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 110.

⁶³⁹ Kāshānī, *Istilāhāt al-Şufiyyah*, p. 37-38.

⁶⁴⁰ Tuhfah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khasāis al-Fityān, p. 543.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 543-544.

⁶⁴² *Ibid*, p. 544.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 544.

defines wisdom, here, in the form of the mystical lingua of the School of Ibn 'Arabī. According to him, wisdom is the knowledge of the truth achieved by the right guidance, which will happen to those who receive the pure knowledge of soul and mind.⁶⁴⁴

However, wisdom by Suhrawardī is developed on the grounds of the Illumination School, wherein the light configured the centrality of his Philosophy. According to Illumination School, all of reality is nothing other than light, which possesses various degrees of strength. It is the essence of light to be manifesting and to bring others to manifestation. Light is the most evident and clear of things and makes things become evident.⁶⁴⁵

With respect of this view, the nature of knowledge is also light. As the light has different degrees, the knowledge also contains a range of levels. The sensory knowledge is a level of light, while the knowledge of intellect is the other levels of the light. On the other hand, the essence of human soul is an abstract light, so it possesses self-awareness and it will be more luminous and more complete and delighted by radiation of the light. Therefore, Suhrawardī classified the seeker of knowledge in his work, *Hikmat al-Ishrāq*, based on the theoretical and practical development and perfection of the faculties of human soul.

The first or lowest level is the seeker of knowledge, who is aware of his ignorance and feels the need for knowledge and, therefore, will seek for the knowledge. The second level is the seeker, who has well attained formal knowledge including the argumentative philosophy (*hikmaht bahthiyyah*), as well as spiritual knowledge. The third level is the seeker, who has purified his soul and

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 543.

⁶⁴⁵ Zailan Moris (2013), *Revelation, Intellectual Intuition and Reason in the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra: An Analysis of the al-hikmah al-'arshiyyah*, Routledge, p. 43.

attained intellectual intuition or illumination, but is ignorant of argumentative modes of knowledge. The fourth is the true philosopher ($hak\bar{i}m \ il\bar{a}h\bar{i}$), who has perfected argumentative philosophy as well as attained illumination. ⁶⁴⁶

As we can see, for Suhrawardī, the truth is attained by accomplishment of both theoretical philosophy and spiritual illumination. Therefore, in his testament at the end of his work *Hikamh al-Ishrāq*, he identified wisdom as the manner and the way of intellectual and spiritual conduct. On the other hand, the knowledge will be attained through illumination of the light into the human being. As the place of the process of illumination is within the human being, Suhrawardī defined wisdom as equal to the preservation of the orders of God and avoidance of what is meaningless; since, only for those who appropriately become ready, the truth will be illuminated from the depth of their being.

The light of wisdom comes not from the outside, but it is the light of the soul itself. Since, to Suhrawardī, the human being is not the empty container but, vice versa, it is like a lantern which shines by itself. As much as he encounters with different phenomena, he becomes brighter.⁶⁴⁷Therefore, the knowledge is the process of shining the human being. The interconnection of knowledge and refinement of the soul is the key concept of wisdom in the chivalry letter of Suhrawardī. Although he did not discuss directly about the wisdom, he set the knowledge (*marifah*) as the fourth element besides other connected ingredient elements of chivalry, such as Divine law (*sharī'ah*), spiritual path (*tarīqah*) and the Truth (*haqīqah*). ⁶⁴⁸For him, it is necessary for those who follow the way of

⁶⁴⁶ Zailan Moris, *Revelation, Intellectual Intuition*, p. 44.

⁶⁴⁷ Dīnānī, Ibrāhīm, "Suhrawardī wa Falsaphah Ishrāq", (http://ebrahimi-dinani.com).

⁶⁴⁸ Suhrawardī, *Futuwwat Nāmeh*, p. 109.

chivalry to purify the soul and to achieve the knowledge of reason, and to understand the meaning of what they do and to avoid from ignorance.⁶⁴⁹

Kāshīfī, indeed, did not study wisdom theoretically; however, he displayed it within a given figure of Sufism, in which the essential factors of wisdom, knowledge and truth are frequently considered throughout the text. He placed knowledge (*ma'rifah*) as the first foundation of the chivalry beside gentleness (*hilm*), asceticism (zuhd), piety (*taqwā'*), satisfaction (*ridā*) and sincerity (*ikhlāş*).⁶⁵⁰According to him, the path of chivalry is integrated with the six obligations. They are arranged as: To gain the knowledge of Divine law, to act according to what is learned, to have good temper with people, to have self-discipline, citation and enthusiasm to see the Truth.⁶⁵¹

The importance of the knowledge becomes clearer when Wāiẓ Kāshifī divided the vow of chivalry into two parts, as original vow (aslī) and saying vow (qawlī). The saying vow is understood as a blessing, whereas the original vow is to be based on research ($tahq\bar{q}q$) that is associated with the excellence awareness.⁶⁵²As Wāiẓ Kāshifī's view is very spiritualized and discussed chivalry in the plane of the Sufism, he regards action as a value that makes knowledge worthy and leads the man to be wise. In fact, the wisdom of chivalry is defined as the way of truth (*sirāț mustaqīm*), in which the knowledge and action are integrated.⁶⁵³

In sum up, although we cannot find the trace of the theoretical discussion of wisdom in chivalry letter of Wāiẓ Kāshifī and Suhrawardī, but a deep affinity

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 120.

⁶⁵⁰ Wāiz Kāshifī, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sultānī, p. 158.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 158-159.

⁶⁵² *Ibid*, p. 154.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 160-161, 171, 178, 179, 296.

resulting from the central view toward wisdom can be seen among chivalry letters, which is the achievement the intellect knowledge by refining the soul. However, Kāshānī provides a system of wisdom for chivalry including both theoretical and practical view. That is what makes Kāshānī's chivalry distinct from others because he presented how disciple of chivalry can achieve wisdom and what exactly is the level of wisdom. He defines wisdom in the form of the mystical lingua of the School of *waḥdah al-Wujūd*. In the meaning that wisdom is the knowledge of the truth achieved by the right guidance, which will happen to those, who receive the pure knowledge of soul and mind.⁶⁵⁴

Suhrawardī and Kāshifiī share the idea with Kāshānī that the basic premise underlying the chivalry is knowledge. However, despite the implicit indication of essential elements of wisdom, the knowledge and the purification, the concept of wisdom and its interrelation with chivalry was not presented by them. While looking at Kāshānī's definition of chivalry and the appearance of the inborn nature, we can see the interconnection of chivalry to wisdom.

Kāshānī displayed the very nature of wisdom and its relation to the chivalry. According to him, wisdom of chivalry is concerned a quality of human awareness integrated with the Unity (tawhīd) and love. The appearance of the inborn nature leads man to discover the truth of himself and the dignity of the human being. While other chivalry letters illustrate generosity and forgiveness as the ways leads to the chivalry, Kāshānī takes effort to demonstrate chivalry is neither a practical way nor a system of idea. Rather, in the deepest sense; it is a vision, through which the man would be guided on how to look to himself and to others in terms of a human being, and not with respect of the vicegerent of God

⁶⁵⁴ Tuhfah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 543.

on earth. Therefore, chivalry is the stage of a complete human being in terms of humanity.

However, the man is able to achieve another stage as the vicegerent of God on earth. This stage is the way of Sufism; by which the names of God will manifest in a human being. This is not easy way to be followed by all people; therefore, chivalry is interpreted by Sufis as a lower grade of Sufism; since, it is possible for everyone to know the truth of a human being and to be faithful to his dignity. Moreover, it is not just about individuals; rather the relation to others is something to which the chivalry concerns itself. This relation has eyes on giving and forgiveness, which grant the human eternal joy and happiness. This is the spirit of chivalry. Sufis struggled to depict that the dignity of a human being is against the self and private benefaction; rather it is defined to forgive the faults of others and to give everything for others, even when they, in turn, made no rewards or commitment.

6.3.2 JUSTICE

Justice, according to Kāshānī, is to place things in their proper place.⁶⁵⁵ He refers to justice as the noblest virtue; since, it is the spiritual form of exposure of the self in order to reconcile between other faculties; in other words, it is the social form for whole virtues.⁶⁵⁶The one who's spirit is the king of his personality, and the heart is his vice, and the intellect is the prime minister, and the soul and the

⁶⁵⁵ Kāshānī, Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 545; Risālah Tashrīqāt, p. 347; Ghāzālī, Mīzān al-'Amal, p. 74; Suhrawardī, Majmū'ah Muşannafāt, Vol. 1, al-Talwīḥāt, p. 95-96; Muhammad Naguib al-Attas (1985), Islām, Secularism, and the Philosophy of the Future, Mansell Pub., p. 71, 136, 142; Majid Khadduri (2001), The Islamic Conception of Justice, USA, HSU Press, p.74.

⁶⁵⁶ Kāshānī, Tuhfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 545.

rest of his capacitance are under his command, is called just (*'\bar{a}dil*).⁶⁵⁷Therefore, justice is a general policy, which brings harmony between the faculties of the body, heart and spirit and balances the inward manifestation and outward manifestation of a human being in all parts of his life.

Thus, from the perspective that justice is an attitude of balance, Kāshānī deals with justice in chivalry on two sub issues as advice and loyalty, concerning the social and individual dimensions of a human's life, to which this research will make an explanation. Advice is presenting the practical social form of justice through which the man wants goodness for others and wants them to make distance from what is harmful. Thus, he described twelve characters reflecting the general social policy of Muslim behavior, namely trust (*amānah*), mercifulness (*shafaqah*), connection to relatives (*şillah al-raḥim*), reconciling between enemies (*işlāhṭ dhāt al-bBayyin*), good participation (*husn al-shirkah*), fairness to himself and to act justly with others (*inṣāf* and *intiṣāf*), reward (*al-mukāfāt*), excellent judgment (*al-ḥusn al-qaḍā'*), intimacy (*tawaddūd*), sincere friendship (*şadāqah*) and brotherhood (*al-ikhwānīyyah*).

By loyalty, Kāshānī takes a strong position on the eternal pre-covenant ('ahd), which entrusts in God the requirement of His unity ($tawh\bar{t}d$) and the knowledge of His Divinity. This is a responsibility of man before God, which is rooted in an historical agreement. The performance of this agreement is obligatory upon the man.⁶⁵⁸It is the cause of man's faith and doing the duties of right of worshipping and performing the right of Divinity.⁶⁵⁹ This is the loyalty to the Supreme God and the last step of chivalry; since, the man returns himself to

⁶⁵⁷ Kāshānī, *Risālah Tashrīqāt*, p. 351.

⁶⁵⁸ Tuhah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, 549.

⁶⁵⁹ Kāshānī, Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Al-Māidah, (5:1).

his real being and he has fulfilled the purpose of his creation.⁶⁶⁰As the Prophet (p.b.u.h) said "Those, who have no covenant, have no religion".⁶⁶¹ Thus, in this level, justice apparently applies an individual connection between man and God, and between man and his self.

For Kāshānī, justice on the level of individual is an expression of self in order to reconcile between other human faculties.⁶⁶²According to him, justice means a harmonious condition or situation whereby the man is in his right and proper place in relation to him self and as well as to others. If the human being allows his animal or carnal soul to overcome him, or if he denies belief in God, he will start to deviate from his real nature. And that is why Kāhsānī called justice as the foundation of the truth (*sidq*).⁶⁶³And, as previously stated, truth is the lowest level of wisdom; therefore, justice is the proper place of human rational soul, in order to distinguish the right from the wrong.⁶⁶⁴

However, Kāshānī determined justice on the level of social as the common form for whole virtues.⁶⁶⁵With respect of this, Kāshānī estimated the method of rightness and just to live in society. In the Islamic society, those who have affirmed their adherence to the original eternal covenant have taken a secondary oath to practice justly relationship in the society. The manifestation of justice at this level is the progression from considering the self to considering others for the sake of God. This is the prominent point of the chivalry's social ethos, which is clearly and successfully presented by Kāshānī through theoretical approach.

⁶⁶⁰ Tuhah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p 550.,

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid*, p 550; Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, Vol. 72, p. 96 and Abū al-Fadl Maybudī, Rashid al-Dīn, *Kashf al-Asrār wa 'Iddah al-Abrār*, Vol. 4, p. 64

⁽Library.tebyan.net/newindex.aspx?pid...BookID. ketabnak.com).

⁶⁶² *Tuhah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān*, p. 545.

⁶⁶³ Tuhah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, 541.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 351.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 545.

On the basis of this School of Thought, the adherence of chivalry considers others not for own benefits, but in order to satisfy God. Therefore, he does not care about his own desire and appetite and does not expect any rewards in return, but his own purpose is to gain God's satisfaction.

With respect of this view, the approval of God can be found in the happiness and bliss of Muslims by applying brotherhood, which is the ultimate character of chivalry. Kāshānī stated:

"I swear that it (brotherhood) is the best and beauty ways for people, the interest of religion and the world is related to it, and the maximum happiness becomes easy to gain, and by its presence every pleasure and bliss will delight, and by its attainment every great demand will become easy, every immense difficulty will degrade for him and every determination will demean."⁶⁶⁶

As we see, the brotherhood is presenting the ultimate characters of justice, while it conveys the appearance of love among the Muslim society; since, justice cannot be without kindness and friendship. According to Kāshānī, justice is the shadow of love and love is the shadow of Unity.⁶⁶⁷ The justice cannot appear without God's love and kindness, for the shadow, in fact, is not separate from the essence.⁶⁶⁸

However, Kāshānī's classification of justice cannot be seen in other chivalry letters. Suhrawardī, generally, did not show concern towards any theoretical type of justice and we cannot find justice in any other of his works.⁶⁶⁹The image of justice in his chivalry letter is embedded within the chivalry's ethos as, generosity, modesty and forgiveness. However, the quoted

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 548.

⁶⁶⁷ Kāshānī, *Ta 'wīlāt al-Qur 'ān, Mumtaḥanah* (60: 8); naḥl (16, 76).

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Ziai, Hossain, "Source and Nature of Authority" (1992), in: Charles E. Butterworth, ed., *The Political Aspect of Islamic Philosophy: Essay in Honor of the Muslim's Mahdi*, Harvard University Press, p. 306.

narratives depict Suhrawardī's stress on the precedence of forgiveness to revenge or the determined penalty by the law.

To Suhrawardī, chivalry's ethos is the way of inner enlightenment. It is well known by Sufis that Divine law is the level of words, and the spiritual path is the level of deeds, and the truth is the level of inner state.⁶⁷⁰The level of chivalry is higher than Divine law; otherwise all Muslims who are practicing Divine law would be considered as a chivalrous one, while the chivalry is beyond mere law. With respect of this view, Suhrawardī tried to illustrate that forgiveness is not only in contrast of the Divine law, but it is the manifestation of the justice; since, justice is not just then to place things in the proper place. Because of this, in all narratives quoted by Suhrawardī, it is emphasized that forgiveness is more honorable and desirable according to God than the penalty or revenge. However, Suhrawardī did not give a Philosophical description, but according to the Illumination School, the essential relationship between humans is rooted in a common light of essence. The forgiveness made the light of Truth becomes brighter inside human being and also in the outside disposition. This is also valid for generosity and modesty, by which the innate human light will illuminate and, consequently, the man becomes closer to his real place. Therefore, the justice, according to Suhrawardī, can be found as the underlying layer of chivalry's ethos.

The innate centered disposition is illustrated by Kāshānī as the potentiality of inborn nature and the Divine covenant, which differ from the Philosophy of *Waḥdah al-Wujud* from the Philosophy of the illumination. On the basis of a different perspective of Philosophy, there is not any trace of matter of Divine covenant in Suhrawardī's chivalry letter. Although the concept of chivalry's

⁶⁷⁰ Muhammed, F. Sayeed (2010), *Fundamental Doctrine of Islam and Its Pragmatism*, USA, Xlibris Corporation, p. 288.

ethos is an essential function for both, Kāshānī elaborated on these concepts with the theoretical discussion beneath the justice, and constituted the frame work of the individuals and social ethos of chivalry.

The concept of justice and consequently the appearance of the love among Muslim society is presented By Wāiẓ Kāshifī within the mere mystical framework. In Wāiẓ Kāshifī's chivalry, the concept of justice is integrated with the spiritual virtue as beneficence $(i\hbar san)$.⁶⁷¹ As it is well known, there are three stations of development of the spiritual pathway in Sufism. The first stage is submission (*Islam*), which is understood as stage of striving to practice the Divine law. The second stage is faith (*iman*), in which the peace enters the heart of the man. The third level is the stage of beneficence (*Ihsan*), which is referring to excellence and observant awareness. The stage of submission pertains to the corporeal and social aspects of human beings, whereas the stage of faith pertains to the heart and the stage of beneficence is related to the spirit. ⁶⁷²

The beneficence is stressed by Sufis as an advanced level on the spiritual path. According to Khawjah 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, the stage of beneficence is the result of the mediation and peace; hence, to attain this stage, the belief in Unity ($tawh\bar{t}d$) must be stabled in the heart of the man.⁶⁷³ Ibn 'Arabī identified it as the stage of the witnessing (*mushāhadah*); however, it is lower than the level of the witnessing in the stage of spirit; since, beneficence is the stage where the man witnesses God according to His attributions.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷¹ Wāiz Kāshifī, Futuwwat Nāmeh Sulţānī, p. 250.

⁶⁷² Ghena A. Ismail (2008), *Islam, Sufism and Psychotherapy: In Search of Unifying values and Epistemologies*, United State, ProQuest, p. 31; Arthur F. Buehler (1998), *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh*, University of South Carolina Press, p. 38-39.

⁶⁷³ Khawjah 'Abd Allāh Anşārī, *Sharḥ Manāzil al-Sāirīn by Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī*, p. 321.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibn 'Arabī, *Futūhāt al-Makkiyyah*, Vol. 7, p. 421; Kāshānī, *Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyyah*, p. 52-53.

With respect of this view, Wāiẓ Kāshifī put the justice and beneficence together as the chivalry's ethos; since, the concept implies the idea of the justice, for the possessor of the beneficence is witnessing the Truth. In other words, he is witnessing the truth of things as they are in their true forms. Consequently, he is able to bring the appropriate thing to the appropriate person.⁶⁷⁵ Moreover, according to his relation with God, the intention, saying and action is devoted and directed to the God in the proper manner as it should be. Thus, he would worship God methinks he does see the God. As he is witnessing the truth, he would act not for the sake of his own nor for the rewards, but for his love for God.⁶⁷⁶

However, according to spiritual path of Sufism, the end of the stage of beneficence is the beginning of the stage of sanctity (*walāyah*).⁶⁷⁷This level is identified by Kāshānī, as the perfection of the last level of chivalry, royalty.⁶⁷⁸

Therefore, we can find that the concept of justice, which was presented as the quality of forgiveness by Suhrawardī, is elaborated later in the in the School of *Wahdah al-wujūd* by providing the key to establishing harmony and sustainable balance in human beings both individually and socially. And, finally, it is identified as the high spiritual stage, *ihsān* by Wāiẓ Kāshifī. Moreover, we come to the result that our authors are sharing the idea that the notion of justice in chivalry is beyond the legalistic sense and scale. It is a kind of balance of embedded qualities as forgiveness and love, in order to bring human beings peace and happiness within themselves and others. The combination of justice with love, and the importance of applying love among society, becomes clearer when

⁶⁷⁵ Zekeriya baskal (2014), *Yunus Emre: The Sufi Poet in Love*, Turkey, Isik Yayincilik Ticaret, p. 51.
⁶⁷⁶ N. Hanif (2002), *Biographical Encyclopedia of Sufism: Africa and Europe*, Sarup & Sons, p.

⁶⁷⁶ N. Hanif (2002), *Biographical Encyclopedia of Sufism: Africa and Europe*, Sarup & Sons, p. 106.

⁶⁷⁷ Kāshānī, *Isțilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, p. 52-53.

⁶⁷⁸ Kāshānī, Tuhfah al-Ikhwān, Fī Khaşāiş al-Fityān, p. 549.

Kāshānī stated that if the people love each other, they do not have need for justice.⁶⁷⁹

6.4 CONCLUSION

The analysis suggests that the notion of chivalry is developed and rejuvenated within the different School of Sufism. In the beginning of the interconnection of chivalry with Sufism, chivalry came to interconnection with the Divine law, spiritual path and truth and presented as more companionate and merciful understanding of the Divine law by Suhrawardī and later it is highly affiliated with Sufism via Sufi's pathway of benefaction by Wāiẓ Kāshfī. However, forgiveness other people's sine and negligence of their slips is an unchanging core to all Sufis perspective which certainly occupied the prominent quality in chivalry and their distinction does not yield a substantial dissension. From the starting point chivalry become the prototype of divine grace and the symbol of the reflection of God's merciful among Muslim's community.

Yet, for Kāshānī, the notion of chivalry is integrated to the concept of Unity; since, according to School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, the reality of a human being is emanated from the Divine Essence and the whole purpose of being is to actualize human being and to become known. Thus, the appearance of inborn nature is stage of appearance of the knowledge of Unity which is within the nature of human and it is confirmation in his intellect. He dealt with chivalry analyzing the nature of human being and stresses upon the appearance of the potentiality of inborn nature to transcendence and perfection. Although, chivalry is not the ultimate perfection, but it is the knowledge of reality of human being

⁶⁷⁹ Kāshānī, Risalah Tashrīqāt, p. 327.

and his dignity. The concept of appearance of inborn nature implies the knowledge of self-awareness, through which the man perceives his true nature, his dignity and potentialities. The manifestation of inborn nature enables man to approach himself and other creation as real human being, which is the pure heart. Thus, in Kāshānī's perspective, chivalry is the ultimate state of harmony and balance in human being in individual and social form, which is colored sacredly and reflects love and merciful of God among human.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The study was set out to explore the concept of chivalry according to Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī on the basis of his treatise *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān Fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān*. It demonstrated how Kāshānī, on the basis of teaching of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, created an ethical system for human being, who is not the symbol of Perfect man as it is defined by Ibn 'Arabī, but in terms of human being. In this regard, he improved the primitive innate human qualities to serve that system. It was a survey of historical background of chivalry after Islam, and the development of the concept by the Sufis.

In order to attain the purpose of the research, various issues are discussed as Kāshānī's life, works and contribution to Sufism. It is declared historical background of the chivalry, its different appearance during the Islamic history and its relation to Sufism. In addition, Kāshānī's chivalry letter is translated from Arabic to English, including supplementary description, in order to assign as the basic source to reach the final judgment. The final discussion is tied up with the analysis of the chivalry letter of Kāshānī to delineate his idea of the concept of chivalry, while it was compared to other outstanding chivalry letters of Suhrawardī and Wāiẓ Kāshifī.

7.1 CONCLUSION REMARK

The research provided contribution and implications of the subject discussed with respect to the research questions. It presented the finding and argues the subject and their transplant on research theory and understanding.

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7.1.1 THE PRESENTATION OF 'ABD AL-RAZZĀQ KĀSHĀNĪ

In reviewing Kāshānī's life, while there was limited diffused information about him, we became involved with his thoughts and manners as an adherence of the School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, and his mastery of classification and regularization of the difficult texts on the basis of the systematic Philosophical approach. We have seen how his prominent spiritual qualities, in addition to his broadmindedness, earned him to influence the members of government as well as other Sufi masters, theologian and jurisprudences.

Furthermore, the research has noted Kāshānī's contribution to Sufism through his commentary on *Fuşūş al-Ḥikam*, through which the School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd* was promoted in the eastern Islamic world, especially in Iran. His commentary was the base sources of later commentaries of Ibn 'Arabī's teaching through his direct disciple, Dāwūd Qayşarī (d.751 H) as well as his indirect successors like Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (d.787 H) and Ni'mat Allāh Walī (d. 834 H), who developed new spiritual movement.

We have observed, although he is known as a commentator, he is an inspired Sufi author. Kāshānī's *Isțilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, compared to other similar Sufi's works, is the most comprehensive and read work which is praised by later Sufi authors. In Addition, Kāshānī wrote more than forty treatises, which reflect a complete integration of two main components of Sufism as practical Sufism demonstrated by Khawjah 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī in *Manāzil al-Sāerī* and Suhrawardī in '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif* and theoretical Sufism by Ibn 'Arabī in *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*.

7.1.2 THE HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF CHIVALRY

We have seen the conceptual integration of the chivalry in the Islamic world with the cultural-religious and social situations. Chivalry, historically, in over eight centuries of its life, is identified as a range of movements and constitutions widespread throughout all the urban communities of Muslim East, especially, in Iran, Iraq and Syria. They were a class of lower rank of landholders and warriors, whose chivalry conveyed courage, brotherhood and willingness to help the defenseless, and later developed as Islamic chivalry in Khurāsān.

Even more importantly, we have seen that early chivalry's behavior as courage and generosity has been elaborated after Islam, and its principle has been supported by the religious elements. It was in respect of the Qur'ānic teaching that inner seeking of humans for salvation through fighting with the inside and outside evils has been demonstrated as a noble human quality. This battle is presented in the story of Abraham, who is recognized as the symbol of the Unity and called "Father of Chivalrous" ($Ab\bar{u} \ al-Fity\bar{a}n$); since, he was the figure of challenging idols in inward and outward worlds, in order to attain the pure faith. The courage of chivalry is manifested by refusing idols and depraved authority, leaving home, enduring danger for the sake of God by the "People of the Cave"($Ash\bar{a}b-i \ Kahf$); and forgiveness and generosity of chivalry is demonstrated by the Prophet Joseph.

We have also seen how the theological significance behind the rites of the initiation of the novice into the chivalry is defined by Sufis. However, the symbolism chivalry presented by the Qur'ān was not always followed by disciple. We found the widespread of disciple of chivalry in the nine and ten century around all Islamic lands, who were known with different names as *Ayyārān* in

Persia, *Ṣaālik* and *Shāțir* in Baghdad, *Aḥdāth* in Syria, who used to rob rich people and believed that this is their right to take their own share from the public fund. They sometimes even appeared as an intruder who broke down the authority, and were used by the politicians in positioning new rulers.

So far, we faced a new era of chivalry in the twelfth century, when chivalry was reformed and rebuilt as an aristocratic chivalry by Abbasid Caliph Abū al-Abbās al-Nāşir Li Dīn Allāh Ibn al-Mustadi' Billāh (553 H). He brought all different groups of chivalry together under a unite title as $akh\bar{i}$ (brother) and enlisted them in public administration and policing functions. Nāşir declared himself as the central authority of chivalry and later designated himself as having sole responsibility to maintain the legislation (*sharī 'ah*). His advisor, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, has estimated the code of chivalry and officially stated chivalry as the sub-Sufism.

Therefore, Anatolia became an important center for chivalry and the idea of chivalry rapidly grew by Sufis. At this time, there are many chivalry letters written by Sufis. However, after Nāşir, the official aristocratic chivalry ended, while the spirit of chivalry survived through three affected vital dimension of a human's life in the realm of economics, politics and public.

In the domain of economics, chivalry appeared as a system of teaching, learning and apprenticeship manual in trades and craftsmen associations. The integration of chivalry with craft associations built up a sacred face of the crafts and public services in normal life, through which the extent of nobility depended on the degree of service to the society. In this regard, there are numerous chivalry letters written according to different crafts, which present the relationship between ethics, profession and human beings, and clarify the importance of laboring and work by God and His Prophet in order to obtain a lawful living and business.

In the field of politics, we encounter the appearance of the small sporadic armed appealing movements, like *Sarbedāran*, who fought particularly with Mongols after Abbasid Caliph.

In the ground of public, we have seen that chivalry appeared as a moral quality provided by Sufis to revive spiritual motivation in different dimensions of people's life. It was in respect of the spiritual tendency of chivalry's essence that it was identified with the religious roots, and improved and purified by Sufis in the written code called chivalry letter (*risālah al-futuwwah*).

We observed the significance of three chivalry letters written by earlier Sufi authors: First, the chivalry letter of Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), is the first treatise written about chivalry. Sulamī proved on the basis of the *Qur'ān* that the ancestors of the chivalrous go back to the prophet Adam, and defined chivalry as universal generosity. The second is the chivalry letter of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 632/1235), who officially identified chivalry as sub-Sufism. The third is the chivalry letter of Ibn Mi'mār Ḥanbalī Baghdādī (d. 642/ 1244), which is written during the Abbasid Caliph Nāşir Li Dīn Allāh and contains complete hierarchical structure and ceremonies of chivalry initiation.

We have seen that producing a number of chivalry letters during twelfth until sixteenth century depicts the Sufis consideration to chivalry. They tried, through Sufi's language, to express for common people first, the gravity of inner battle of man against egoism and evils, second the importance of the relation to others and third the devotion and magnanimity to God. These kinds of chivalry letters, in principle, have ethical style and frequently highlight qualities that made man to win God's satisfaction. By examining the chivalry letters, we found that they are not only colored with ethics, they also transformed and developed the primeval moral concept of chivalry into the spiritual school integrated with the theory and map of the practical spiritual stage.

7.1.3 THE PRESENTATION OF TUḤFAH AL-IKHWĀN FĪ KHAṢĀIṢ AL-FITYAN

We have seen how *Tuḥfah al-Ikhwān fī Khaṣāiṣ al-Fityān* is distinguished as a milestone from other chivalry letters. It is, in essence, a spiritual chivalry letter which depicts the semantic and rational boom of chivalry through its association with Sufism. It includes a wide range of Qur'ānic verses, narratives, poetry, rational arguments on epistemology, and different levels of spirituality and good manners.

Kāshānī wrote this treatise in Arabic and Persian, while the Persian version is almost an abstract form of the Arabic version. The Arabic version is written in a clear, direct literature with a logical order. It discusses, in sequence, the origin, path and qualities of chivalry. The context is supported with appropriate Qur'ānic verses and narratives, which depict Kāshānī's effort to bear the roots of chivalry in the Qur'ān and presents the connection of Qur'ān with its action and rituals.

We found that in addition to Qur'ān, Kāshānī benefited from the School of Ibn 'Arabī and Suhrawardī; however, he retained his creativity to develop the concept of chivalry and described the process of becoming one chivalrous in an organized form. He constructed his definition of chivalry on Ibn 'Arabī's meaning, as the stage of human strength, and expanded it on the ground of School of *Wahdah al-Wujūd* as the appearance of the innate human nature. On the basis of School of Suhrawardī, he stated that the process of appearance human strength tied up with a kind of intellect knowledge, which its center is in the human's heart. This knowledge is the spirit of action, which is given to the human only through God's mercy.

We observed how Kāshānī used terminology of School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd* to create the theoretical perspective of chivalry beside the practical approach. This feature makes his chivalry letter unique among others; since, in addition to practical approach, it contains theoretical discussion of chivalry.

I think, there are two important elements in the school of Wahdah al-Wujūd: First, wujūd (existence) and second appearance (zuhūr). Wujūd refers to God who is the absolute existence. There is only one Being and everything is the manifestation of that real Being. This is the fundamental meaning of the Unity; since, God is only existence and the source of creation. Wahdah al-Wujūd depicts God is unit in His essence; since, His essence cannot be separate, has no modality. Therefore, everything is created by Him and comes to existence, but in the form of appearance (mazāhir al-ma'lūmah); since they do not possess in depended existence. Although, God is unit but it appears in His creation in numerous forms. That is why everything is a sign ($\bar{a}yah$) of God; since, they are a proof that He exists and depict His existence. God bestowed them existence, while their existence is depended to Him. Therefore, they are united with Him in the existence but in the stage of appearance not in the stage of essence. Therefore, school of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd* have potentiality to build up the structure of ethic, in which the main object is the appearance the reality of human being, which is an image of real Being. This manifestation contains ontology and epistemology. Thus, it opens a wider, more cosmic view point to the matter of human being. The main element in the chivalry ethic is integration of knowledge, human being and his potentialities. This knowledge, which rises from the deep of human inside gives him the world view how should consider him self in the world as an existent to become human being. The matter of chivalry ethic is not the matter of what is good and what is bad. What God bestowed to human being as qualities and potencialities are good. In other word, virtues are within human being. They are human potentialities and qualities and human is responsible to appear them.

Therefore, instead of classification of virtues and vices, the human is divided in to ethical human and non ethical human. That is what Kāshānī wanted to depict the image of ethical human by description of the chivalry's ethic. Those, who possess the knowledge of their reality, everything they do, is consider as worship, even their sleep and eating. The knowledge of self is like the guidline that make human clear why he should do this and how he should do. Some times, the good thing is considered just as pray, fasting and charity and etc.; however, when the man find the knowledge of his reality, every action of him is consider as good. He can do different things and being the source of creation and development of his life, even when he makes mistakes, because he possesses the sign, could he try to correct himself. In contrast, when he does not have the knowledge, even when he prays, he does not in the correct direction.That is the life of human being, which is decribed in chivalry letter as the period of youth; since, it is full of motivation, movement and challenge for becoming better human being and that gives to the human's life a vital transcendence meaning.

On the other hand, the matter of appearance of human qualities give him nobility to develop the self, while the process of development will happen according to the social life because human essentially have social life.

Kāshānī provided forty qualities for chivalry, which make a balance between individuals and social action of chivalry. He described these qualities according to cardinal classification of virtues accepted by al-Ghazālī, while it distinguished itself by presenting justice. The concept of justice as balance is presented by Kāshānī as the appearance of human nature in the perfect strength, which bestowed by God to human and it is different in every human being.

The initiatory path of chivalry is the methodology employed by Kāshānī in the text. He sought esoteric meaning of chivalry's ritual and found the custom of drinking water as the knowledge originated from the pureness of eternity. The tradition of adding salt to the water implies justice though which the balance of human actions appear. Wearing robe refers to transformation of the human being to his original nature through avoiding pleasures and desires. So, Kāshānī reveals the inner meaning of chivalry rituals and depicts chivalry as the correct state of clear mind and pure heart of a human being.

7.1.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF CHIVALRY WITHIN SUFISM

By comparing the chivalry letters of Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) and Wāiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504) with Kāshānī (d. 730/1330), we came to examine how the concept of chivalry is improved from its primordial moral concept as forgiveness by Suhrawardī, into the spiritual school of thought by Kāshānī. In the spiritual framework, chivalry presents key conception of humans in both dimensions of the individual and social life based on the universal doctrine of School of *Waḥda al-Wujūd*. However, the conceptual development of chivalry continued within Sufism and later merged to one of the spiritual stages of Sufism as benefaction (*iḥsān*) by Wāiẓ Kāshifī. Therefore, chivalry is defined within the framework of Sufism as the stage of witnessing the truth. At this level, the chivalrous one could perceive the true form of things and do the appropriate things. Thus, his intention, saying and action is devoted and directed to God in the proper manner as it should be. Therefore, he would worship God methinks he does see the God. As he is witnessing the truth, he would act not for the sake of his own nor for the rewards, but for his love for God.

7.1.5 RELATION OF CHIVALRY WITH UNITY (*TAW*HĪD)

Kāshānī cultivated the roots and inner meaning of chivalry and sought the fundamental notion of chivalry in the innate nature of human beings. With respect that the inborn nature is the reality of a human being emanated from the Divine Essence, and his association with the knowledge of Unity within his nature and its confirmation in his intellect, Kāshānī determined chivalry as the stage of appearance of the knowledge of Unity. This knowledge will be revealed

by purification of the soul and manifestation of the pure inborn nature. Thus, we have seen although chivalry is known as some moral qualities, in its deepest sense, it involves anthropology and ontology.

The notion of Unity, particularly, is significant for Kāshānī; since, as the follower of School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, there is only one Being, and all existence is nothing but the manifestation of that one Being. Thus, God is the center of our being and Unity is to know God in the realization of who we are. Therefore, the whole purpose of being is to actualize human being and to become known.

7.1.6 THE FORMATION OF CHIVALRY'S ETHIC

We found why Kāshānī's structure of theoretical chivalry is based on the appearance of the inborn nature, for man is the image of God and has potentiality and tendency to seek perfection. These potentialities, according to School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, are recognized as Divine attributes, which are within the human being in potential, but they are different in each soul according to the degree they have become manifestation. The man is, in actuality, identified by what he manifests of his human potentialities or at least is aware of what potentialities he is able to manifest. This is the way morality formed. So, the virtues are qualities within a human being's potentials. The virtues do not force a human being into something he is not; yet, they are potentialities and inherent goodness of a human being, which he needs to bring forth by a system of growing the soul. The one who actualizes his potential becomes the ethical man. Ethics are found within the potential and uttered through the actualization of this potential.

The extent of the fullness of a real human being is determined by actualization of God's attributes.

7.1.7 CHIVALROUS, THE IMAGE OF A HUMAN BEING

We have seen that the concept of appearance of inborn nature implies the knowledge of self-awareness, through which the man perceives his true nature, his dignity and potentialities. It refers to the stage of actualization and reawakens the true self of a human being. In general, man is covered by ignorance and of his self concept that he holds onto. The veils of the world prevent him from knowing his primitive and essential nature. The appearance of inborn nature is the proceeding from the conventional self to the real nature. It gives human the vision to realize his place in the world as human being and his relation to God as well as to others. It is the way of gradual development and growth of human being and his unlimited possibility for development.

The discovery of true nature involves the purpose of a human being from humanistic perspective, and creates an image of his potentials and possible behavior. Kāshānī's irresistible stress on appearance of the inborn nature is mainly connected to his concern for creating the definition of a human being. To him, the human behavior is very much related to his innate nature and the manner of a human must reflect his innate condition of nature. His idea of chivalry stems from the belief that it is necessary to manifest the inborn nature, which is the manifestation of his origin. He tried to create a perfect image of a human being on the basis of the deeply structured model of chivalry. Therefore, chivalry is a critical element in his ideal world because it is through which the human individual's behavior could be defined. So, for him, the concept of chivalry is more than a system or method of manner, but in the large scheme it portrays a figure of human being and his conduct in terms of human being.

7.1.8 THE RELATION OF CHIVALRY WITH LOVE

According to Kāshānī, the place of the knowledge of self is the heart. The heart is the intermediate of the animal strength of a human (soul) and his spiritual strength (spirit). The heart will illuminate by the light of spirit, when the soul of man is liberated from vices. In this stage the inner knowledge and criterion of intellect will appear, by which man is capable to distinguish right from wrong. On the other hand, it is the stage of the pure nature of human known as pure Abrahamic heart, through which man approaches other creation by the sound of his heart.

We can see how the definition of chivalry as appearance of the inborn nature becomes connected to the heart and depicts implicitly the relation of Unity to love. As much as the heart is luminous by the light of Unity, the love will be set stronger in the heart. Consequently, when the man perceives his real being originated from Divine source, he finds himself in a deep connection with his origin and love within his nature. He begins to love himself in a way to manifest God's attributes, because this is the nature of himself. Indeed, he appreciates other humans and creatures and gives them love and respect. Therefore, the actualization of innate potentials or attributes becomes the purest sense of God's Love.

7.1.9 THE RELATION OF CHIVALRY WITH JUSTICE

We have seen how the ultimate individual and social ethos of chivalry is presented by Kāshānī through justice. Justice appears in chivalry as advice and loyalty concerning the social and individual's dimension of human's life. Justice on the level of an individual is an expression of a human's loyalty to the eternal pre-covenant, which entrusts God with the requirement of His Unity and the knowledge of His Divinity. The chivalrous one is released from his carnal soul, deviation, scattering and falsehood and now he finds himself in the proper place in relation to God. This relation concerns his faith and his duties of right of worshipping and performing the right of Divinity.

We have seen that chivalrous one is not only in the right place to God, but he is in the proper place to other people. Justice, by chivalry, concerns the entire virtues, through which human social relations will be shaped. With respect of this, justice is the appearance of brotherhood in society and manifests in the progression from considering the self to considering others for the sake of God; since, justice, in its essence, cannot appear without love and kindness.

7.1.10 THE KEY CONCEPT OF CHIVALRY

Yet, as the final reflection, we can see the key concept of the chivalry embedded in Unity and love. It is related to the innate human qualities, which are necessitated to live as a human being. To be a chivalrous one, we need to manifest our inborn nature and realize our real being. We cannot be human without real perception of Unity. From the knowledge of Unity, the whole knowledge will flow and the heart will be lighted by the love. The ethics of chivalry will be guided by the ultimate Divine qualities and the purpose of chivalry comes in connection to the expression of love in God's creation. Those who do really love God will also love His creation. Those who love others reveal the Divine quality of love within their nature. Thus, adherence of chivalry making efforts to find love within themselves and reveal it in their life.

We found that this love does not concern the love of individual and human desires, which leads the man away from proper observance of chivalry. Chivalry's love is from perceiving the human dignity and beauty, so it is a developed love, full of smiles and is a pathway toward God. This love is essential for a human being; since, it is based on a pure heart and enlightened intellect; thus, it brings intimate relationship between people and makes their relationships become strong. Flourishing love in chivalry is supported by the innate knowledge and is directed in proper ways. Therefore, adherence of chivalry become interested in the things associated with Divine and His satisfaction. As the nature of love is bountiful, forgiving and tolerant, disciple of chivalry is also attached with these qualities.

The highest possibility of this fullness for a human is described by Sufism as the Perfect Man (*Insāni kāmil*), while chivalry is the mediocre level of selfactualization. In Sufism, "*Allāh*" is the comprehensive name of God which manifests Himself in His fullness through the perfect man, since he alone actualizes every Divine quality. However, chivalry is not His attribute; since, the goal of chivalry concerns qualities of the average man not the perfect man, who is known as vicegerent of God on earth.

The mediocre man has not yet discovered all of his potentials and qualities, nor has he integrated them together. Thus, his life is imperfect and he makes mistakes. He, sometimes, harms and hurt others in ways that he may not often recognize. From this perspective, disciple of chivalry is called youth, the middle stage between boy and old man, who is enhanced by God even when he commits faults. Although, his actions reflect varying degrees of imbalanced and balanced qualities, they involve recognition of the knowledge of reality of a human being and the purpose of his life. For chivalrous one, it is not enough to act according to the Divine order unless he possesses the knowledge of pure heart. By becoming more aware of whom he is, he would manifest as a human being to a greater degree. In other words, he becomes an ethical human.

Yet, when all has been taken in consideration, we found the important feature of the chivalry letter of Kāshānī is found in creation the meaning of human being by reconfiguration of the definition of chivalry in terms of a human being, and demonstrating the proper place and conduct of human being.

7.2 SUGGESTIONS

As we have seen the scale of the study chivalry in spiritual concept of Sufism is extensive and connected to the deep meaning of the human being and morality. Thus, this research could bind up suggestion for further study.

7.2.1 KĀSHĀNĪ

Although Kāshānī's works present mostly the Philosophy of School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd;* the character of certain independent interpretations are originally belong to Kāshānī, but the structure, which based on an archetype of analysis of the basic principle of Sufism, still needs more contemplation.

7.2.2 CHIVALRY

The goal and style of developing a traditional behavior on the structure and language of School of *Waḥdah al-Wujūd*, can be suggested as an archetype and method of creative spiritual intellectual effort to find an adaption to new circumstances of today's life. As we have seen the concept of chivalry is developed from its earlier form, which was referred to the ethnic feature and it was just allocated to men, has developed to the ethical system, regardless of gender, base on the responsibilities and love towards God and others.

More over, the concept of chastity as one of the fundamental virtue of chivalry can be studied according to chivalry ethic. According to classification of Kāshānī, the concept of chastity as its lowest level, repentance, to its highest level, generosity, is extended to qualities as patience, pious, regularity, contentment, freedom, as well as to remission, magnificence, equality and preference. The relation of these qualities to chastisty needs to be discussed.

Although the construction of the spiritual chivalry is beyond the border of the gender but the place and nobility of women, their role and influences in the culture and history of the Ilamic lands is less in the interest of the chivalry studies.

In addition, when chivalry defines a system of ethic, it can be compared with other ethical systems and study its preferances and defcts.

7.2.3 CREATION OF THE CONCEPT OF A HUMAN BEING

It may be true that chivalry's idea is often observed far from today's thought of life. However, the code of chivalry could be extended and encouraged in the formation of the social relationships and civil rights. The chivalry, as the idea of human being can explore his human rights, and because it is based on Unity and knowledge, can be helpful to the Muslim world in order to give structure to the moral standards on a global scale.

Especially, observing wars, crimes and massacres in recent decades in Islamic lands and the growing radical reformist tradition, who excommunicate Muslims, a new structure for chivalry could help to define values that are part of human social life. The development should address chivalry's characters, which strive to be in service of humanity based on modern condition. In this regard, the classical exegetical of chivalry letters could touch the essential purpose of how human beings can be described in the secular world carrying principles accepted within Islamic teaching.

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APPENDIX

يِسْمِ الله الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحيمِ و بِه ثِقَتي و عَلَيْهِ آعْتِضْادي

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الحمد لله الذي زيّن نفوس الفتيان بزينة الفضائل و شرّفهم بمحاسن الشّيم و الشّمائل حُتَّو حمدوده حقّ حمده بالغدوات و الأصائل حيث استعانوا بالنّعم الجلائل على السير الجمائل. ا الصّلوة و السّلام على المنتجب من أكرم القبائل محمّد الهادي للخلائق بأوضح الدّلائل؛ و على آله السّابقين بالمكرمات على الأواخر و الأوائل خصوصاً فتى العرب الباذل بغير المسائل أسا اللّه الغالب علىّ بن أبي طالب، صلوةً هي أفضل الوسائل.

و بعد؛ فقد التمس منّي مَن وجبت طاعته و كملت براعته، و هو الشّيخ العالم العارف الكامر المحقّق مقدّم الطّائفة الصّوفيّة، مقتدي الملّة المحمّديّة، وارث الفتوّة و الولاية، أهـل البـدايـة النّهاية، بقيّة السّلف نقاوة الخلف، رضىّ الملّة و الدّين، عماد الإسلام و المسلمين، علىّ بن يحي بن محمّد بن الشّيخ الكبير شهاب الحقّ و الدّين عمر السّهرورديّ ـقدّس اللّه أرواح الماضين أدام بركة الباقين، أن أملي ممّا حضرني رسالة في الفتوّة، فرأيت إجابته عن⁽ لوازم المروّة، و إو كنت فيها عديم المنّة ضعيف القوّة!

۱. م: من

۵۲۶ / رسائل فلسفي و عرفاني عبدالرزاق كاشاني ...

فأسعفتة بذلك مع قصر الباع و خور القدم، فإنّ القليل خيرً من العدم، وسمّيتها: «تحفة الإخوان في خصائص الفتيان»، و رتّبتها على مقدّمةٍ و عشرة أبوابٍ و خاتمةٍ. أمّا المقدّمة فمشتملةٌ على ثلاثة فصولٍ.

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الفصل الأوّل فى بيان حقيقة الفتوة

اعلم! أنَّ الفتوّة عبارةً عن ظهور الفطرة بصفائها و لطافتها و غلبتها على مقتضى النّشأة بقوّتها و سلاطتها، و هي صفةً تابعةً لاستعداد الكمال، لازمةً للفطرة السّليمة الابراهيميّة الّتي قال اللّه ـ تعالى ـ فيها: ﴿إِلّا مَنْ اَتَى اللّهَ بِقَلْبٍ سَليمٍ ﴾ ^٢.

فإنّ الفطرة الإنسانيّة متى سلمت من آفات دواعى النّفس و صفاتها، و صفت و أشرقت و تجرّدت عن الغواشي الطبيعيّة و العلائق البدنيّة و استعدّت لكمالها و اشتاقت إلى غايتها و قهرت النّفس و قمعت غلباتها و كسرت سورتها و منعت وثباتها و انخلعت عن الأمور الماديّة و الأوصاف الذنيّة و ارتفعت بهمّها^٦ العالية إلى المراتب السنيّة و المقامات الشّريفة و أرتقت عن حضيض الملابس الشّهويّة و الغضبيّة إلى ذروة الفضيلة الإنسيّة و أنفت من كلّ خلق دنى و حصيض الملابس الشّهويّة و الغضبيّة إلى ذروة الفضيلة الإنسيّة و أنفت من كلّ خلق دنى و تصدت كلّ خلق سنى و أبت الدّنايا و الرّذائل و شغفت بالمكارم و الفضائل، حصلت المروّة؛ و إذا أحرزت الفضائل المنسوية إلى العفّة³ و الشّجاعة و أحكمت أساس الهداية و العدالة، حصلت الفتوّة. فالمروّة سلامة الفطرة وصفائها، و الفتوّة حليتها و يهاوّها. و هي مبنى الولاية و ابتداؤها، كما أنّ المروّة مبنى الفتوة و أساسها، فمن لا مروّة له لا فتوّة له و من لا فتوّة له لا ولاية له [°]، إذ المروّة تنبىء عن اتصال العبد بالحقّ بوصلة صحّة الفطرة؛ و لهذا قال النبيّ مين الولاية و ابتداؤها،

م: الاستعداد
 ع: الحكمة

۲. كريم ۸۹ الشّعراء.
 ۳. م: بهممها
 ۵. س: - كها أنّ ... لا ولاية له.

۵۲۸ / رسائل فلسفي و عرفاني عبدالرزاق كاشاني . .

ذوي المروءات عثراتهم فإنَّه لن يعثر منهم عائرٌ إلَّا و يده بيد الله يرفعه ﴿

و مدارها العفاف فإذا تم العفاف تمّت المروّة. و الفتوّة تشعر بالقرب و مدارها الشّجاعة. فإذا تمّت الشّجاعة، تمّت الفتوّة، و الشّجاعة لا يتمّ إلّا باليقين الموجب للأمن. فإنّ الشّك يلزمه الخوف. قال الله ـ تعالى ـ في وصف أرباب الفتوّة: ﴿ إِنَّهُمْ فِتْيَةٌ آمَنُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ وَ زِدْنَاهُمْ هُدى وَ رَبَطْنًا عَلىٰ قُلوبِهِمْ إِذْ قامُوا فقالوا رَبُّنَا رَبُّ السَّمواتِ وَ الْأَرْضِ لَنْ نَدْعُوَا مِنْ دونِه إلهاً لَقَدْ قُلْنَا إذَا شَطَطًا» لا أي: ﴿ آمَنُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ بِعتضى صفاء الاستعداد و سلامة الفطرة و نور الهداية الأصليّة، ﴿وَ زِدْنَاهُمْ هُدى؟ : وفَقناهم لطلب اليقين، ﴿و رَبَطْنًا عَلىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ»: قويناها و الأصليّة، ﴿وَ زِدْنَاهُمْ هُدى؟ : وفَقناهم لطلب اليقين، ﴿و رَبَطْنًا عَلىٰ قُلُوبِهِمَ»: قويناها و مرناها على هجر النّعيم و الأوطان و الفرار بدينهم بالمسافرة إلى بعض الغيران و شجعناهم على القيام بكلمة التوحيد و التظاهر بالإسلام ﴿ إذ قَامُوا؟ بِنَا رَبُّ السَّمواتِ مَوالاً وَ اللهُواتِ وَ الأَرْضِ مالاها على هجر النّعيم و الأوطان و الفرار بدينهم بالمسافرة إلى بعض الغيران و شجعناهم

روي أهل الإنجيل فسقوا، و طغت ملوكهم، فعبدوا الأصنام، و أكرهوا على ذلك و ممّن شدّد ني ذلك دقيانوس، أراد فتيةً من أشراف قومه بذلك و توعّد عليه القتل، فأبوا إلّا الايمان باللّه و التّوحيد و هربوا إلى الكهف _كما هو المشهور من قصّتهم _.

و تحقيقه إذا أنجرت الفتوة - أي: الولاية - إنّهم ﴿ آمَنُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ ﴾ إيماناً يقينياً ٣ علمياً بطريق الإستدلال أو على سبيل ٤ المكاشفة ﴿وَزِدْنَاهُمْ هُدىً ﴾ أي: هداية ٥ إلى عين اليقين و مقام المشاهدة ﴿وَرَيَطْنَا عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ ﴾ قويناها بالصّبر على المجاهدة و هجر المألوفات الجسمانية و المشاهدة ﴿وَرَيَطْنَا عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ ﴾ قويناها بالصّبر على المجاهدة و هجر المألوفات الجسمانية و الملا ذالحسية و رَيَطْنَا عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ ﴾ قويناها بالصّبر على المجاهدة و هجر المألوفات الجسمانية و المدادة ﴿وَرَيَطْنَا عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ ﴾ قويناها بالصّبر على المجاهدة و هجر المألوفات الجسمانية و الملا ذالحسية و شجّعنا على محاربة الشيطان و مخالفة النفس و الهوى ﴿إذ قَامُوا ﴾ بكلمة التوحيد بين يدي جبّار النفس الأمّارة بالسّوء من غير مبالاة بها حين عاتبهم على ترك طاعة إله التوحيد بين يدي جبّار النفس الأمّارة بالسّوء من غير مبالاة بها حين عاتبهم على ترك طاعة إله التوحيد بين يدي جبّار النفس الأمّارة بالسّوء من غير مبالاة بها حين عاتبهم على ترك طاعة إله التوحيد بين يدي جبّار النفس الأمّارة بالسّوء من غير مبالاة بها حين عاتبهم على ترك طاعة إله ألوي و دعتهم إلى عبادة صنم الجسم، فنفوا إلهيّة الهوى، و أنكروا عبادة صنم الجسم، فنفوا إلهيّة الهوى، و أنكروا عبادة صنم الجسم، بقولهم أن نُنْ نُدْعُوا مِنْ دُونِه إلهاً لَقَدْ قُلْنَا إذاً شَطَطًا ﴾ حقولاً ذا شططٍ ، أي: ذا إفراطٍ و إبعادٍنيه - ﴿ فَإِنَّ النَّرْكَ لَظُلُمُ عَظَمٍ ﴾.

١. راجع: ص ٢٦٠.
 ٢. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ١٣ و ١٤ الكهف.
 ٢. م: يقيناً
 ٤. م: طريق
 ٥. م: بداية
 ٢. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ١٢ لقبان.

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الفصل الثّاني في بيان منبعها و مظهرها

لممّا تقرّر أنّ الفتوة مبنى الولاية و أساسها، فحيث ظهرت الولاية كملت الفتوة، لأنّ نهايتها بداية الولاية، كما أنّ نهاية المروّة بداية الفتوّة؛ إذ طريق الولاية أخلاق و معاملات و أحوال و مكاشفات و علوم و مشاهدات تنتهي إلى الفناء في الله. و طريق الفتوّة تجرّد الأخلاق و المعاملات و ينتهى إلى خلاص الفطرة عن قيد الجبلّة، و لمّا خلصت الفطرة حصلت البغية. إذ الفضائل لازمة لها ذاتيّة و الرّذائل خارجة عنها عارضيّة. و ينبىء عنها قوله _ تعالى _ : ﴿ لَمَا كَسَبَتْ وَ عَلَيْهَا مَا اكْتَسَبَتْ» ¹. فإنّ الإكتساب إتّخاذ بالقصد و النيّة، و الكسب حصول كيف اتفق، فالخيرات نافعة لها كيف ما حصلت، لأنها مقتضياتها و لوازمها عند التجرّد و الشّرور لا تضرّها إلا توجّهت إليها بالقصد و اتّخذتها لنفسها و إلّا ...¹ عنها و دهبت لأنها عوارض غريبة عنها و عن عاملها صاعدةً إليها من ظلمات النفسها و ولا ...¹

و أوّل نقطة الولاية و مفتتحها _ الّذي انتشر منه الوحدة و ظهر عليه الفتوة و الولاية _ هي النّفس المقدّسة الإبراهيميّة، إذكان إبراهيم خليل اللّه _عليهالسّلام _ أوّل من تجرّد عن الدّنيا و لذّاتها و تخلّى عن زينتها و شهواتها و اعتزل عن أبيه و قومه و تحمّل المشاق و المتاعب في محبّة ربّه و هاجر إلى الله عن الأهل و الأعزّة و الأوطان و المألوفات الملذّة و صبر على الغربة و المجاهدة و تشجّع بكسر الأصنام و مخالفة الأقوام حتّى شهد له أعداؤه بالفتوّة، كما حكى اللّه _ تعالى _عنهم بقوله: ﴿قَالُوا سَمِعْنَا فَتَى َ يَذْكُرُهُمْ يُقَالُ لَهُ إِبْراهيمُ ؟ و المجاهدة ال

فهو منبع القوّة و مظهرها باطناً و ظاهراً و مؤسّس قواعدها و مشيّدها أوّلاً و آخراً، و لهذا سنّ الضيافة و القرى، و نذر أن لاياً كل وحده إلى أن يتوفّى، و بلغ من فتوّته إلى المباشرة لذبح الولد و الخروج عن جميع المال عند طيب الخلد بسماع ذكر الخليل و تحقيره في جنب تعظيم

مقتبس من كرية ٢٨٦ البقرة.

٢. ههنا كلمة لا تقرأ. و في الطبعة الأولى من الكتاب جعل المصحح في هذا الموضع: محيت.

٤. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٦١ الانبياء.

٣. م: المجاهدة و الغربة.

اسمه الجليل .

و قطبها الذي قام به إعوجاج أمرها و استوى إنحناء ظهرها هو مولانا أميرالمؤمنين علىّ بن أبي طالبٍ _عليه الصّلوة و السّلام _، إذ بلغ من الزّهد و الورع ما بلغ و وصل من الشّجاعة و الجلد إلى ما وصل و آئر الطّعام بعد طيّ ئلائة أيّام حتّى نزل فيه ما نزل من قوله _ تعالى _: ﴿و يُطْعِمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلىٰ حُبِّه مِسْكيناً وَ يَتيماً وَ أُسيراً ﴾.

و فدى النبيّ بنفسه ليلة الخروج من مكّة^٣ و أسلم نفسه إلى من طلب دمه مكتوفاً و بـذل روحه في محاربة أعداء الدّين لوفور ثباته و قوّة كماله في اليـقين، حـتّى قـال فـيه جـبرئيل _عليهالسّلام _: لا فتى إلّا عليّ^٤.

فنسبة فتوّة إبراهيم _عليه السّلام _ إلى فتوّة علىّ _عليه السّلام _ نسبة ذبح الولد إلى فداء النّفس، و يختمها خاتم الولاية _أعني: المهديّ _ في آخر الزّمان _صلوات الله عليه _كما انّ اوّل نقطة النبوّة هو آدم صفيّ الله _عليه السّلام _. و قطبها ابراهيم خليل اللّه _عليه السّلام _ المأمور باتّباعه فيها، و خاتمها محمّدً حبيب الله _صلّى الله عليه و آله _.

فنسبة فتوّة أميرالمؤمنين _عليهالسّلام _ إلى فتوّة ابراهيم _صلوات اللّه عليه ^٥ _ كنسبة نبوّته إلى نبوّة آدم _صلوات الرّحمن عليه _. فكلّ من ثبت له قدمً فيها أو نبض له عرقً بها فقد رشح عليه ما طفح منه و فاض إليه ما جرى عنه، و يلزمه اتّباعه و الإقتداء بهداه ^٢ و الإستمداد من روحه المقدّسة و الإستفاضة من نفسه المطهّرة حتّى يستعدّ بمناسبةٍ ما لقبول بعض أحواله و يستفيد بقوّة محبّته ^٧ لمعةً من أنواره فيكمل فيها بحسب استعداده و يبلغ نهاية مقصده و مراده عند رسوخ وداده بعد كمال طاعته و انقياده. _واللّه أعلم! _. لا الأمور سرضيّة و سذّر مِن الحقائق

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ى نجابة من القبيح ل طالبةً المؤمنين

ما ما أشار م -حيث نوبة ⁰. -ماد بقوله نخاء عند

الشحاعة.

١. راجع: ص ٤٧٤.
 ٢. مقتبس من كريمة ٨ الدّهر .
 ٣. راجع: ص ٤٧٥.
 ٥. م: عليه السلام.
 ٣. راجع: ص ٤٧٥.
 ٨. س: علية .

الفصل الثَّالث في مبادئها و مبانيها

لممّا تبيّن أنّ الفتوّة هى بروز نور الفطرة عن حجاب القوّة إلى مشهد الفعل فمبادئها الأمور المزكّية للنّفس، المصفية للقلب من الآداب الحسنة و الأفعال الجميلة و الشّمائل المرضيّة و العادات المحمودة و الدّواعي الجيّدة و الآراء الصّائبة و النيّات الصّادقة و كلّ ما حذّر من الرّذائل و جنّب من أفعال السّباع و البهائم و رفع الحجب الظلمانيّة النّفسانيّة و كشف الحقائق النّورانيّة الايمانيّة.

و عنوان شأنها الحياء، و هو: حصر النفس خوف ارتكاب القبائح، فإنّه يـدلّ عـلى نـجابة جوهر النّفس و سلامة الفطرة في الأصل و قوّة الّتميز بين الحسن و القبح و الإستنكاف من القبيح و الإنبعات إلى الحسن؛ كأنّها لصفاء استعدادها شاعرةً بـنقصانها هـاريةً مـن^٢ الرّذائـل طـالبةً للفضائل، و لهذا قـال النّـبيّ _عـليه السّـلام _: الحـياء من الايـمان^٢، و قـال أمـيرالمـؤمنين _عليه السّلام _: من كساه الحياء ثوبه لم يرالنّاس عيبه^٤. و قال الشّـاعر:

لَعَمْرُ أَبِيكَ مَا في العَيْشِ خَيْرٌ وَ لا الدُّنْــيْا إِذَا ذَهَبَ الْحَيْاءُ

و هو مبدأ فضيلة العفّة ـ الّتي هي أساس المروّة و مبانيها و أصولها الّتي تبتني عليها ما أشار إليه قطبها الّذي رفع شأنها و أحكم بنيانها أميرالمؤمنين علىّ بن أبي طالب_عليهالسّلام ـ حيث قال: أصل الفتوّة الوفاء و الصّدق و الأمن و السّخاءُ و التّواضع والنّصيحة و الهداية و التّوبة ⁰. ـ

و لا يستأهل الفـتوّة إلّا مـن يستعمل هـذه الخـصال. و عـلامة كـمالها مـا أفـاد بـقوله ـعليهالسّلام ـحين سئل عن الفتوّة: هي العفو عند القدرة و التّواضع عند الدّولة و السّخاء عند القلّة و العطيّة بغير منّة⁷.

فحاصلها الإتصاف بفضائل الأخلاق و الإجتناب عن رذائل الأوصاف.

و الفضائل بأسرها ينحصر في الأجناس الأربعةالمشهورة، و هي: [1]:العفَّة، و [٢]: الشَّجاعة، و [٣]: الحكمة، و [٤]: العدالة.

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١. راجع: ٥

٣. راجع: ٥

٦. س: هد

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و الأصول النمانية المذكورة المؤسّس عليها الفتوّة كلّ اثنين منها من بابٍ واحدٍ من هذه الأربعة، و قد اختار _عليهالسّلام _ من أنواع كلّ جنسٍ منها ما هو بمنزلة الأصل و المبدأ الّذي إذا حصل استتبع البواقى. فلم يلبث إن تبعته و ما هو بمنزلة الغاية و النّهاية الّذي إذا حصل إستجمع الجميع فلم يخرج منه شيءً ، فالتّوبة و السّخاء من باب العفّة، و التّواضع و الأمن من باب الشّجاعة، والصّدق و الهداية من باب الحكمة، و الوفاء و النّصيحة من باب العدالة.

> *الباب الأوَّل* في التَّوبة

قدّمناها لأنّها الاصل و الاساس في باب العفَّة.

و العفّة صرف الشّهوة عن مقتضي الهوى إلى مقتضى الرّأى الصّائب و ترك تعبّدها ليفيد حريّة، و هي كمالً و اعتداالً للقوّة البهيميّة ـ الّتي هي أوّل قوّةٍ تظهر من قوي النّفس و تجرّ بـمقتضي الهوى إلى الرّدىٰ و تدعوا إلى الشّره و الحرص و الطّمع و البخل و تغيّر عزمة الرّجال وتـنزلهم بمحلّة النّساء و تلبسهم العار و الشّنار و تلبسهم العزّة و الإقـتدار و تـذهب الحـميّة و تـغلب الأمنيّة ـ.

و التوبة هي الرّجوع عمّا نهي عنه في الشّرع ممّا ازرى ^٣ بالمروءة عند العقل من قولٍ أو فعلٍ أو قصدٍ؛ قال ابن عبّاسٍ – رضي اللّه عنه : – في تفسير قوله تعالى ﴿ تُوبُوا إلى اللّهِ تَوْبَةً نُصوحًا ﴾ ^٤: صادقاً من قلوبكم و هو النّدم بالقلب و الإستغفار باللّسان و الإقلاع بالبدن و الضّير العزم على أن لا يعود إليه أبداً ^٥.

و قال الإمام المعصوم زين العابدين عليَّ بن الحسين _عليهماالسِّلام _]: ليست التَّوبة

٣. م: أم أزرى

٥. راجع : ص ٤٨٢.

۱. س: شیبی ، منه.
 ۲. م: واحد
 ٤. مقتبس من كريمة ٨ التّحريم .
 ۲. س: عليهم السلام

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بالكلام ولكن بالعمل و الرّجوع من الذّنب .

و هي أوّل قدم من أقدام الفتوّة و مبني أمرهم و مبدأ طريقتهم ^٢. و المتفتّى من إذا نـوى الرّجوع عن الشىء لا يعود إليه أبداً، إذ من ضروراته عزمة الرّجال و قوّة الثّبات؛ و لا يصحّ الفتوّة بدونهما، و هي تستلزم الصّبر عمّا أعرض عنه من الملاذ و المشتهيات و المحابّ.

و الصّبر هو حبس النّفس عن مطاوعة الهوى ومقاومتها في متابعته، قال الله _ تعالى _: ﴿ و مَا يُلَقّيٰهَا إِلاَّ الَّذِينَ صَبَرَوُا و مَا يُلَقَيْهَا إِلاَ ذَوُ حَظٍّ عَظِيمٍ ﴾ ٢، و من إنشاء أميرالمؤمنين _عليهالسّلام _²

إِنَّسِي رَأَيْتُ وَ فَي الْأَيْسَامِ تَجْرِبَةً لِلصَّبْرِ عَاقِبَةً محمُودَةُ الْأَخَرِ وَ قَلَّ مَنْ جَدً فِي أَمرٍ يُطالِبُهُ فَاسْتَصْحَبَ الصَّبْرَ إِلَّا فَازَ بِالظَّفَرِ⁰

و هو يؤدّى إلى الدّعة. والدّعة: سكون النّفس عند هيجان الشّهوات، قال الله _ تعالى _: ﴿وَ لا تَذُنَّ عينَيْكَ إلى ما مَتَّعْنَابِه أزْواجاً مِنْهُمْ زَهْرَةَ الحَيواةِ الدُّنْيا لِنَفْتِنَهم فيهِ ؟.

و يلزمها الوقار، و هو: التأنّي في التوجّه نحو المطالب، قال النبيّ – صلّى الله عليه و آله ^٧: مَن تأنّى أصابَ أو كادَ و مَنْ عَجَّل أخطأً أو كادَ^٨.

و هو يستلزم الورع، و الورع: اجتناب الأمور القبيحة و ملازمة الأعمال الجميلة، قمال أميرالمؤمنين _عليهالسّلام _: لا معقل أحرز من الورع ٩.

و يلزمه حسن السَّمت، و هو: محبَّة ما يكمَّل النَّفس.

و يفضي إلى الإنتظام، و هو: تقدير الأمور و ترتيبها بحسب المصالح، قـال أمـيرالمـؤمنين

ما وجدت ما نقله المصنف عن مولانا زين العابدين السّجّاد(ع) في مصادرنا.
 س: طريقهم .
 س: طريقهم .
 مقتبسٌ من كرية ٥٥ فصّلت.
 س: +شعر.
 داجع: ص ٤٨٢.
 داجع: ص ٤٢٢.
 داجع: ص ٢٢٢.
 داجع: ص ١٢٥.
 داجع: ص ١٢٢.
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 داجع: ص ١٢٥.
 داجع: ص ٢٢٥.
 داجع: ص ٢٢٥.

(بشرح الامام محمد العبده). ج ٥ ص ٤٢٥ (بشرح ابن ميثم الكبير). ج ١٩ ص ٣٠١ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ٤٥٦ (بشرح الخوتي). و في المأخذ: لا معقل أحسن...، بدل: أحرز. ۵۳۴ / رسائل فلسفي و عرفاني عبدالرزاق كاشاني

_عليه السّلام _: كن مقدّراً و لا تكن مقتّراً .

و الإنتظام يؤدّي إلى القناعة، و هي: التّساهل في أسباب المعاش و الإقـتصار مـنها عـلى الكفاف؛ قال النبيّ ـصلّى اللّه عليه و آله ـ: ليسَ الغنيٰ عن كثرةِ العَرَضِ ولكـنَّ الغـنيٰ غـنى النَّفسِ ٢؛ و قال أميرالمؤمنين ـعليهالسّلام ـ: «كفى بالقناعةِ مُلُكاً و بحُسن الخلقِ نعيماً ٣.»

و تنتهي إلى الحريّة، و الحريّة رأس مال الفتوّة و عنوان المروّة و ملاك الأمر فيهما⁴، إذ الفتى من لم يتعبّد لشهوته و لم يتذلّل لغير، في طلب طعمته و انطلق من قيد هوا، و خرج من أسر قواه و قنّعه الله بما آتاه، لا يبذل ماء وجهه في لذّة بطنه أو فرجه و لا يتقيّد بحفظ فلسه لشحّ نفسه، إذ متعبّد النّفس بعيدً عن⁶ الرّجوليّة قريبً من الخنوئة و الصّبوية؛ و هي عبارةً عن إكتساب المال من غير إمتهان و ذلّةٍ و إنفاقه في المساعي الجميلة و المصارف الحميدة من غير رياءٍ و منّةٍ، قال النبيّ ـ عليه الصّلوة و السّلام ـ⁷: لإنْ يأخُذَ أحدُكم حبلَه فيأتي بحُزمة حطبٍ على ظَهره فيبيعها و نيكُفٌ اللّهُ وجهَه خيرً له من أنْ يسألَ النّاسَ أعطوه⁹ أو منعوه⁴، و من كلام أميرالمؤمنين -عليه السّلام ـ: طوبى لمّن ذلّ في نفسه و طابَ كسبُه و صلحتْ سريرتُهُ و حسَنَت خليقتُه و أنفَقَ الفَضْلَ من مالِهِ و أمسَكَ مِنْ لسائِهِ⁴. و من إنشائه ـ عليه المالية و من أنشرة عليه عليه أنه من

١. راجع: ص ٤٨٤.

- ٢. راجع: نهج البلاغ، الحكمة رقم ٢٢٩ ص ٥٠٨. و لمزيد الفائدة راجع: ص ١١٧٨ (بشرح فيض الاسلام). ج ٢ ص ١٩٥ (بشرح امام محمد عبده). ج ٢٩ ص ٥٨ (بشرح امام محمد عبده). ج ٢١ ص ٣٥٨ (بشرح امام محمد عبده). ج ٢١ ص ٣٥٨ (بشرح الخوتي).
 (بشرح الخوتي).
 ٤. س: فيها
 ٥. م: من
 ٦. م: عليه السّلام.

٨ راجع: صحيح البخاري ج ٢ ص ١٥٢، ج ٣ ص ٧٥. اتحاف السّادة المتقين ج ٥ ص ٤١٧. مسند الحميدي ج ٢ ص ٤٥٦ رقمان ١٠٥٦، ١٠٥٧. (باختلافٍ في جميع المصادر). و الرّواية ما وجدتها في طرقنا.

٩. راجع: نهج البلاغة الحكة رقم ١٢٣ ص ٤٩٠. و لمزيد الفائدة راجع: ص ١١٣٣ (بشرح فيض الاسلام). ج ٢ ص ١٧١

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٦. م: عليه ال

٨ راجع: صح

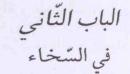
٩. راجع: نهجا

رقمان ٥٦ .

٣. راجع: نهم

و ڌ

لَنَقُلُ الصَّخْرِ مِنْ قُلَلِ الْجِبَالِ أَحَبُّ إَلَىَّ مِنْ مِنَنِ الرِّخِالِ^١ و هي تقتضي المروّة؛ و ترك اللّذة و الإستغناء عن النّاس و اليأس عمّا في أيديهم و استبقاء ماء الوجه و بذل ما لابدّ من إفادته عرفاً حتّى لا يلحقه شينً. أوحى اللّه - تعالى - إلى داوود النبيّ -عليه السّلام - أن: يا داوود! لا تصحب إلّا من تكاملت فيه المروءة و الدّين . و كمالها في السّخاء، الّذي هو نهاية العفّة و غايتها.



السّخاء إفادة ما ينبغي^٣ لمن ينبغي على وجه الّذي ينبغي بلا أذى و منَّ و لا عوضٍ و لا غرض^٤ و لا توقّع ثناء و مدم؛ و هو أعلى درجات العفّة و أرفع مراتبها الّذي هو غاية لها و آخر قدم من أقدام الفتى فيها، و إذا أتّصف به فقد أحصى جميع أنواعها و استحقّ المدم و التّعظيم بها و التقدّم على أهلها؛ قال الله ـ تعالى ـ : ﴿و مَنْ يُوقَ شُحَ ّ نَفْسِه فَأُولئكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ ﴾ °، و قال النبيّ ـ عليه السّلام ـ : لج اهلُ سخيٌ أحبّ إلىّ من عابدٍ بخيلٍ آ؛ و قال أميرالمؤمنين _ عليه السّلام ـ : من يعط^٧ باليد القصيرة يعط باليد الطّويلة ^٨.

و أقلَّ درجاته المسامحة، و هي: ترك ما لا يجب تركه من الحقوق الماليّة على سبيل التبرّع؛ قال الله _ تعالى _: ﴿وَإِنْ كَانَ ذو عُسْرَةٍ فَنَظِرَةٌ إلى مَيْسَرَةٍ وَ أَنْ تَصَدَّقُوا خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ ﴾ ^٩، و قال

(بشرح عبده). ج ٥ ص ٢٥٦ (بشرح ابن ميثم الكبير). ج ١٨ ص ٣١١ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ١٨٦ (بشرح الخوتي). ١ . راجع: الدّيوان المنسوب إلى مولانا أميرالمؤمنين(ع)، ص ١٠٥. ۲. ما وجدت هذه الرواية في ما يختص بذكر الأحاديث القدسية «كالجواهر السنية» و «كلمة الله» و «الاحاديث القدسية» و غيرها كبحارالأنوار والكتب الاربعة و الصّحاح السنَّة و غيرها. ٣ . م: لمن ينبغي ٤. م: و عوضٍ و غرضٍ. في ٥. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٩ الحشر. ٦. راجع: ص ٤٨٥. ٢. م: يعطي ٨. راجع: نهج البلاغة، الحكة رقم ٢٣٢ ص ٥٠٩. ولمزيد الفائدة راجع: ص ١١٧٩ (بشرح فيض الاسلام). ج ٢ ص ١٩٥ (بشرح امام محمد عبده). ج ٥ ص ٢٥٩ (بشرح ابن ميثم الكبير). ج ١٩ ص ٥٩ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ٢٠١

(بشرح الخونى). ٩. مقتبس من كريمة ٢٨٥ البقرة

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النبيّ _عليهالسّلام _: من أنظر معسراً أو وضع عنه` أظلّه اللّه تحت ظلّ عرشه يوم القيمة يوم لا ظلّ إلّا ظلّه`.

ثمّ السّماحة؛ و هي: بذل ما لا يجب بذله على سبيل التّفضل. و قال النّبيّ _عليه السّلام _: السّماح رباحٌ ^{2, ث}و قال أمير المؤمنين _عليه السّلام _: كن سمحاً و لا تكن مبذّراً ⁰.

ئمّ المواساة؛ و هي: بذل المال في معاونة الأصدقاء بحيث يشركهم فيما يختصّ به؛ قال النبيّ _عليهالسّلام _: البركة في المال هي إيتاء الزّكوة و مواساة المومنين و صلة الأقربين^٢.

ثمّ الكرم؛ و هو: الإنفاق بالسّهولة و طيب النّفس في الأمور العظام؛ قال اللّه ـ تعالى ـ: ﴿وَ مَثَلُ الَّذِينَ يُنْفِقُونَ أَمُوْالَهُمْ ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاةِ اللّهِ وَ تَثْبِيتاً مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ كَمَثَلِ جَنَّةٍ بِرَبُوَةٍ أَصَابَهَا وأبِلُ فَآتَتْ أُكُلَها ضِعْفَيْنِ * ، و من كلام أميرالمؤمنين _عليهالسّلام _: بـالإفضال تـعظم الأقدار ^.

ئمَّ النَّبل؛ و هو: الإعطاء مع السَّرور به.

ئمّ الايثار؛ و هو: أن يكون مع إحتياجه إليه، قال الله ـ تعالى ـ : ﴿وَ يُؤْثِرُوُنَ عَلَىٰ أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَ لَوْكَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةُ ﴾ ٩. و هو الشَّرف التّام و الخطب الجليل و الخصلة الحسنى و الذروة العليا عند أهل الفتوّة، به يتفاضل أقدارهم و إليه يتسابق أقدامهم يحتقرون كلّ فضيلةٍ مـن غـيرها و

1. g: b.

٨. راجع: ص ٤٨٦.

- ٢. هذه الرّواية توجد (مع اختلافات في بعض الالفاظ) في بعض من مصادرنا و في كثير من مصادر اخواننا اهل السنّة و الجاعة في اربعة صور مختلفة. راجع: الكافي ج ٨ ص ٩. بحارالأنوار ج ٢٨ ص ٢٨، ج ٨٢، ص ٩٤. و راجع أيضاً. مسند احمد ج ٢ ص ٣٥٩، ج ٣ ص ٤٢٧. السنن الكبرى ج ٥ ص ٣٥٧. سنن الدارمي ج ٢ ص ٢٦١. بحمع الزّوائد ج ٤ ص ١٣٤. المعجم الكبير ج ١٩ ص ٢٦٦. كنزالعرّال ١٥٣٩، ١٥٣٩، حمد الأولياء ج ٢ ص ٢٦١. المستدرك على الصّحيحين ج ٢ ص ٢٩.
- ٣. راجع: مسند الشُّهاب ٢٣. كنزالعيّال ٦٠ ١٦٠٠. كشف الخفاءج ١ ص ٥٥٣. الدُررالمنتثرة ص ٩٦. و الرّواية ما وجدتها في طرقنا.
 طرقنا.
- ٦. ما وجدت الرواية بعد بليغ الفحص في مصادر الفريقين، فلا توجد في كتبنا الاربعة و لا في بحارالانوار و لا في الصّحاح الستّة و لا في كنزالعبال و لا في السنن الكبرى و لا في غيرها من المصادر. و هي حرفياً رويت في وصايا سيّدنا أميرالمؤمنين. راجع: بحارالأنوارج ٧٧ ص ٢٧٠.

٩. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٩ الحشر.

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يأبون كلّ سجيّةٍ من دونها، من فاز به فاز بالقدح الأعلى و من ظفر به ظفر بالحظّ الأسنى. و عن حذيفة العدويّ، أنّه قال: انطلقت يوم اليرموك بطلب ابن عمّ لى و معي شيءً من الماء و أنا أقول إن كان به رمقً سقيته و مسحت وجهه، فإذا أنا به فقلت: أسقيك؟ فأشار الىّ: نعم! فإذا رجلً يقول: آه! فقال ابن عمّى: انطلق به إليه، فإذا هو هشام بن عاصٍ، فقلت: أسقيك؟ فسمع هشام آخر يقول: آه! فقال: انطلق به إليه، فجئته، فإذا هو مات! ثمّ رجعت إلى هشام فإذا هو م

وحكاياتهم في الايثار أكثر من أن تحصى، فالأولى بالايجاز أن تدرج و تطوى.

الباب الثّالث

في التواضع و هو أوّل خصلةٍ من خصال الشّجاعة. و الشّجاعة: صرف الغضب إلى مقتضي الرّأى الصّحيح و العقل الصّريح عند الإقدام على المخاوف و الوقوع فى البلايا و الشّدائد. قال اللّه متعالى -: ﴿ الَّذِينَ هَاجَرَوُا وَ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيارِهِمْ وَ اوُذُوا في سَبيلي وَ قَاتَلُوا و قُتِلُوا لاَ كُفَرِّنَ عَنْهُمْ سَيّئَآتِهِمْ * و قال النبيّ ـعليه السّلام ـ: إنّ اللّه يحبّ الشّجاعة و لو على قتل حيّةٍ . و هي كمالُ و اعتدالُ للقوّة السّبعيّة الطّالبة للجاه و الغلبة المائلة إلى القهر و السّلطنة الدّاعية إلى الكبر و العجب و الحقد و التهوّر بالإفراط أوالجبن والخور و الخوف و الفشل بالتّفريط، الّتي تذهب كمال الرّجل و بهائه و تزري بأيّهته و جلاله و تحقّر قدره و تستخفّ عقله.

و التواضع: هو استعظام ذوي الفضائل من الأقران و الإخوان و من هو دونه في الجاه و المال^٤ أو^٥ يساويه أو فوقه في الشّرف و الفضيلة، و بذل الجاه لكلّ احدٍ على حسب قدره، و ذلك لقلّة اعتناء النّفس بحقّها وعدم الالتفات إلى خطرها و وقعها؛ قال اللّه – تعالى –: ﴿وَاخْفِضْ جَناحَكَ لِمَنِ اتَبْعَك مِنَ المؤمِنينَ﴾^٦. و قال النبيّ–صلّى اللّه عليه و آله و سلّم^٧ – : ما تواضع

> ۱. راجع: ص ٤٨٧. ٤. م: في المال و الجاه. ۷. م: عليه السّلام.

۲. کریة ۱۹۵ آل عمران. ۵. س : و

۲۵۰ راجع: ص ۳۵۰.
 مقتبس من كريمة ۲۱۵ الشُعراء.

أحدُ للّه، إلّا رفعه اللّه ٢ و من كلام علىّ _عليه السّلام _: حلية المؤمن التّواضع ٢. و يلزمه الحلم؛ و هو: طمأنينة النّفس و ترك الشّغب عند سورة الغضب.

و يقرب منه: الرّفق و المداراة و لين الجانب؛ و يستلزم عـدم الطّيش؛ و هـو: التّأنّي فـي الخصومات و الحروب الشّرعيّة، كما قال اللّه ـتعالى ـ: ﴿وَ قَـاتِلُوا فِي سَـبِيلِ اللّـهِ الَّـذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ و لا تَعتَدواْ ٣، و قال أميرالمؤمنين ـعليهالسّلام ـ: من بالغ في الخصومة أثم[؟].

و النَّبات؛ و هو: قوّة مقاومة ^٥ الآلام و الشّدائد. قال الله ـ تعالى ـ : ﴿و كَأَيِّنْ مِنْ نَبِيٍّ قَاتَلَ مَعَهُ رِبِيُّونَ كَثيرٌ فَمَا وَهِنُوا لِمَا أَصْابَهُمْ فِي سبيلِ اللهِ و مَا ضَعُفُوا و مَا اسْتَكَانُوا وَ اللَّهُ يُحِبُّ الصّابِرينَ ﴾ ^٦.

و هذا هو أحد قسمي الصّبر الّذي أشار إليه أميرالمؤمنين _عليهالسّلام _بقوله: الصّبر صبران: صبرُ على ما تكره و صبرُ عمّا تحبّ^٧.

و هو يوجب احتمال الكدّ _أي: تحمّل المتاعب البدنيّة و المشاقّ النّفسانيّة و إتعاب الجوارح في اكتساب الخيرات و الحسنات قال اللّه _تعالى _: ﴿و الَّـذِينَ جــاهَدُوا فــينا لَـنَهْدِيَنَهُمْ سُبُلَنا﴾ ^.

و يلزمه الشّهامة؛ و هي: الحرص على ما يوجب الذّكر الجميل من الأمور العظام و صنوف المجد و المعالى. قال النبيّ _عليه السّلام _: إنّ اللّه يُحِبُّ معالَي الأُمورِ و أَشْرافها و يُبْغِضُ سَفْسَافها ٩.

راجع: سنن الترمذيج ٤ ص ٣٣٠ رقم ٢٠٢٩ مسند احمد ج ٢ ص ٣٣٨ السنن الكبرى ج ٤ ص ١٨٧، ج ١٠ ص
 ٢٢٥ صحيح ابن خزيم ج ٤ ص ٩٧ رقم ٢٥٢٨ اتحاف السادة المتقين ج ١ ص ٢٩٥، ج ٢ ص ٢٥٥، ج ٨ ص ٣٥٥. فتح
 ٢٣٥ صحيح ابن خزيم ج ٤ ص ٩٧ رقم ٢٤٣٨ اتحاف السادة المتقين ج ١ ص ٢٩٥، ج ٢ ص ٢٥٥، ج ٨ ص ٣٥٥. فتح
 ١٣٥ القديرج ١١ ص ٣٤٧ تفسير ابن كثير ج ٧ ص ٣١٠ و ما وجدت الرّواية حرفيّاً في طرقنا، و فيها ما يشبهها جداً، راجع:
 أمالي الشيخ الطائفة ج ١ ص ٥٥، ١٥٨، بحارالأنوارج ٥٧ ص ٢٥٠.

٢. راجع: تحف العقول ص ١٧٢. بحارالأنوارج ٧٧ ص ٤١٥. ٢ ٢. مقتبس من كريمة ١٩٠ البقرة.

 د راجع: نهج البلاغة، الحكة رقم ٢٩٨ ص ٥٢٨. و لمزيد القائدة راجع: ص ١٢٢٥ (بشرح فيض الاسلام). ج ٢ ص ٢١٧ ((بشرح الامام محمّد العبده). ج ٥ ص ٣٩٥ (بشرح ابن ميثم الكبير). ج ١٩ ص ٢٥٤ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ١٣٨٩ (بشرح الحوتي).
 ٣٨٩ (بشرح الحوتي).

- ٧. راجع: ص ٤٨٨. ٨. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٢٩ العنكبوت.
 - ٩. راجع: ص ٤٨٩.

و من لوازمها كبر النّفس، و هو: استحقار اليسار و الإقتدار على حمل الكرامة و الصغار. قال الله _ تعالى _: ﴿قُلْ مَتَاعُ الدُّنيا قليلُ» \.

و من كلام أميرالمؤمنين _عليه السّلام _: مَنْ كَبُرْتْ عليه نفسُهُ هانَتْ عليه آشَهْوَتُهُ ٢.

و هو يستلزم العفو، إذ كبير النّفس لا تحرجه ⁷ زلّةً و لا يؤنّر فيه أذىً و لا تنقل عليه جنايةً. و العفو هو: ترك الإنتقام مع القدرة. قال الله ـ تعالى ـ : ﴿وَ الْكُـاظِمِينَ الْـغَيْظ وَ الْـعافينَ عَـنِ النّاسِ»². و قال النبيّ ـ صلّى الله عليه و آله ـ^٥ : لا تكونوا إمّعةً تـقولون إنْ أحسـنَ النّـاسُ أحسَنّا و إن أساؤا ظلَمْنا ولكن وَطَنُوا أنفسَكم إنْ أحسن النّـاسُ أن تحسنوا و إن أسـاؤًا فـلا تظلِموا^٢.»

و هو من أنّهات خصال أرباب الفتوّة و معظماتها الّتى انفردوا بها و تسابقوا فيها. و يـلزمه الرقّة؛ و هي: التأثّر عن أذى يصيب أبناء الجنس بلا اضطراب فيحترز صاحبها عن ايـذاتـهم و يصفح عن آثامهم و يدفع الأذي عنهم ما أمكنه و يكشف ضرّهم بما تيسّر له. قال النبيّ ـ صلّى الله عليه و آله ^Vـ تَرَي المؤمنينَ في تراحُمِهم و تواذِّهِم و تعاطُفِهم كمَتَلِ الجَسدِ إذا اشْتَكى منُه عضوً تَداعىٰ له سائرُ الجسدِ بالُحمّى و السَّهَرِ[^]».

وتتبعها الحميّة، وهي محافظة الملّة و الحرمة لنفسه و جيرانه و إخوانه عن التّهمة و الذّب عن العشيرة في الجملة على ما أمر به النبيّ _عليه السّلام _بقوله : اتَّقُوا مواضعَ التُّهمِ ` .

مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٧٧ النّساء.

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٢. راجع: نهج البلاغة، الحكمة رقم ٤٤٩ ص ٥٥٥ و لمزيد الفائدة راجع: ص ١٢٨٣ (بشرح فيض الاسلام). ج ٢ ص ٢٥٥ (بشرح البلاغة، الحكمة رقم ٤٤٩ ص ٥٥٥ و لمزيد الفائدة راجع: ص ١٢٨٣ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ (بشرح الامام محمّد عبده). ج ٥ ص ٤٥٩ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ٥٢٥ (بشرح الامام محمّد عبده). ج ٥ ص ٤٥٩ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ٥٥٥ (بشرح الامام محمّد عبده). ج ٥ ص ٥٥٩ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ٥٥٥ (بشرح الامام محمّد عبده). ج ٥ ص ٤٥٩ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ٥٩٥ (بشرح الامام محمّد عبده). ج ٥ ص ٤٥٩ (بشرح ابن ميثم الكبير). ج ٢٠ ص ٥٩ (بشرح ابن ابي الحديد). ج ٢١ ص ٥٥٥ (بشرح الامام محمّد عبده). ج ٥ ص ٤٥٩ (بشرح ابن ميثم الكبير). ج ٢٥ ص ٥٩ و في جميع المصادر: من كرمت عليه... ، بدل: من ص ٥٢٥ (بشرح عليه المام محمّد عبده). ج ٢٠ ص ٥٥ (بيثرح الخوبي). ج ٢٠ ص ٢٥ (بيثرح عليه المام محمّد عبده). ج ٢٥ ص ٢٥ (بيثرح الخوبي). ج ٢٥ ص ٢٥ (بيثرح الخوبي). ج ٢٥ ص ٥٩ و في جميع المصادر: من كرمت عليه... ، بدل: من كبرت عليه... ، بدل: من كبرت عليه... ، من كرية عليه... ، ٢٠ ٥. من عربت عليه... ، ٢٠ ٥. من من كرية عليه... ، من كرية عليه... ، ٥٥ (٥٠ من من كرية عليه... ، ٢٥ (٢٠ من من كرية عليه النسلام.

٦. راجع: سنن التُرمذي ج ٤ ص ٣٢٠ رقم ٢٠٠٧ رشرح السنَّة ج ١٣ ص ٣٢. كنزالعمّال ٢٣٠٣٥ (باختلافٍ يسيرٍ جداً). و الرّواية ما وجدتها في مآخذنا.

٨ راجع: صحيح البخاري ج ٨ ص ١٢. فتح الباري ج ١٠ ص ٤٣٨. مشكاة المصابيح ٤٩٥٣. اتحاف السّادة المتّقين ج ٦ ص ٢٥٣. كنزالعال ٧٥٨. و ما وجدت الحديث في مآخذنا.

.١. راجع: ص ٤٩٥.

و الحميّة من أخصّ سيرهم و عاداتهم و أعزّ أخلاقهم و أوصافهم، يحتملون عندها الآلام و الأهوال و يرتكبون دونها الأخطار و يتركون الأسباب و الأموال و يحامون الأعراض ببذلها و لا يبالون بفواتها و فقدها.

الله _

العفو ه

النَّاس

أحستنا

تظلموا

الرقة؛

يصفح

الله عد

عضو :

العشيرة

۱. مقتيس

۲. راجع:

(بشر

ص

كبرت

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٦. راجع:

٨ راجع:

١٠. راجع

الروايا

ص ۳

وتت

و يلزمها عظم الهمّة. و هو: عدم المبالاة بسعادة الدّنيا و شقاوتها حتّى الموبقات عند حصول المكرمات الباقيات، كما حكى الله ـ تعالى ـ عن سحرة فرعون في جواب قوله: ﴿ لَأَقَ طَّعَنَّ أيدِ يَكُمْ وَ أَرْجُلَكُمْ مِنْ خِلَافٍ وَ لَأَصَلِبَنَّكُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ قَالُوا لا ضَيْرَ إِنَّا إلى رَبِّنا مُنْقَلِبُونَ ﴾ . و هو لا يكون إلا عند الأمن الذي يكمل به فضيلة الشّجاعة و ينتهي عنده حدّ الجلادة. ـ و الله المستعان! ـ.

> الباب الرابع في الأمن

و هو ثقة النفس و طمأنينتها بأن لا يصيبها جزعً في المخاوف و لا يَنُونَها فشل عند المعاطب. قال الله _ تعالى _ : ﴿ اوُلئك لَهُمُ الأَمْنُ و هُمْ مُهْتَدونَ ﴾ ؟ و يسمّى النّجدة _ أيضاً _ ، و لا يحصل إلاّ بقوّة ⁷ اليقين و الوقوف على سرّ القدر و الوئوق بحسن كلاءة الله _ تعالى _ و حفظه ² و امتناع قدرة الخلق عليه عند حمايته و منعه. و لا يتمّ فضيلة الشّجاعة و لا يستقرّ إلا به، إذ الشّاك مضطربٌ و المرتاب غير متثبّتٍ، و من لم يرتبط جأشه بعلم اليقين، و لم يتمسّك من الله _ تعالى ⁰ _ بالحبل المتين، لم يرسخ قدمه في مواطن الشدّة و الخوف، و مواقع الرّدى⁷ و الرّعب، بل يهاب كلّ ضعيفٍ و يهرب من كلّ خسيسٍ، يحسب كلّ صيحةٍ عليه عدّواً هاجماً، و يرى كلّ شوكةٍ حساماً صارماً، و يكون كما قيل:

إَذَا رَأَى غَيْرَ شَيْءٍ ظَنَّهُ رَجُلاً

و من تيقّن قوله _ تعالى _ : ﴿ قَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدْراً ﴾ ٧ و تأمّل معنى قوله: ﴿ وَكُلُّ

٧. مقتبسٌ من كرية ٣ الطَّلاق

مقتبس من كرية ٤٩ و ٥٥ الشّعراء.
 ٣. س : بالقوّة

٦. م: التردي.

٥. س: _ تعالى.

٢. مقتبسٌ من كرية ٨٢ الأنعام.

شيْءٍ عِنْدَهُ بِمِقْدَارٍ ﴾ و تدبّر قوله : ﴿لِكُلِّ أَجَلٍ كِتَابٌ ﴾. علم أنّ لعمره حدّاً محدوداً، و أمداً ممدوداً، و لموته وقتاً معلوماً، و قدراً مقدوراً، فلا يخاف من عاداه، و لا يبالي بمن ناواًه، كان أقوى منه أو ساواه.

رُوِى عن الحاتم الأصمّ _رحمه الله _ أنّه ⁴ لقي شقيقًا البلخيّ _ رحمة اللّه عليه ⁰ _ ف بعض غزوات الكفّار بخراسان و هو في المعركة، فقال له شقيقٌ: كيف تجد قلبك يا حاتم؟ قال: كما كان ليلة الزّفاف، لا أفرّغ بين الحالتين⁷.

فقال شقیقٌ: أمّا أنا فهكذا، ورمی بسلاحه و وضع رأسـه عـلی تـرسه و نـام حـتّی سُـمِع غطیطُه^۷ا.

فهذا هو الأمن و الطّمأنينة و اليقين و انكشاف الغطاء بظهور النّور المبين. و لا يتخلّف عنه شيْءٌ من الشّجاعة إلّا تبعه و لا نوعٌ إلّا تضمّنه و صاحبه يعتقد معنى قوله ـ تعالى ــ: ﴿قُلْ لَنْ يُصيبَنَا إلّا ما كَتَبَ اللّهُ لَنَا^﴾ يتربصّ إحدى الحسنيين و يختار الحَيْن على الشين. ـو اللّهُ يؤيَّدُ بنصرٍهِ مَنْ يَشَاءً! ـ ^٩.

ألباب الخامس فى الصّدق

الصّدق أدنى درجات الحكمة و مبناها. و الحكمة فضيلة القوّة النّطقيّة و كمالها، و خـاصيّة النّطق إخبار الغير عمّا في الواقع، و به امتاز الإنسان عن سائر الحـيوان و فـضّل عـلى جـميع الأكوان فلمّا لم يطابق ما ظهرت خاصيّته و لم يفد فائدته فهو إذن كالأنعام و من حيث إنّه أفاد إعتقادًا غير مطابقٍ كان أضلّ و أخسّ منها، فلو لم يصدق لم يـعدّ إنسـانًا، و لهـذا قـال عـلئً -عليهالسّلام ــ: لا مروءة لكذوبٍ `.

مقتبس من كريمة ٨ الرّعد.
 مقتبس من كريمة ٨ الرّعد.
 م: رحمة الله.
 م: رحمة الله.
 م متتبس من كريمة ٥١ التوبة.
 راجع: ص ٤٩٣.

الصواب

تي خَيْراً

ال حتّى

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سرًّا ما

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۲. م: ـقوله. ٤. م: ـانّه. ۷. راجع: ص ٤٩٢. ۹. مقتبسٌ من كرية ١٣ آل عمران.

و هي ـ أعني: الحكمة ـ هاهنا تعرّف الموجودات على ما هي عليه و تحريّ وجوه الصّواب في الأفعال على ما ينبغي أن يفعل، قال الله ـ تـ عالى ــ : ﴿وَ مَنْ يُؤْتَ الْحِكْمَةَ فَقَدْ اوُتِيَ خَيْراً كَثيراً﴾ ⁽.

شيءٍ عِن

ممدوداً،

آقوی مذ

يعض غز

کما کان

'indiale

شينيءً م

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الم

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_عليه

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فقاز

فهذ

رُو ک

و الصّدق إمّا في النّية -وهو: استقامة القصد إلى اللّه تعالى فيما يتوجّه إليه من الأفعال حتّى لا يشوبه غرض لغير اللّه - تعالى -و لا طمعً و لا يفسده رياءً و نفاقً و لا طلب صيتٍ و سمعةٍ و لا ثناءٍ و مدح و لا قصد عوض و ثوابٍ و لا توقّع مكافاتٍ و جزاء. فكلّ ذلك يهجّن المروءة ^٢ و يشين الفتوّة، بل لا يفعل إلّا للَّه ^٦ و يستخرج حقّ اللّه عليه في كلّ فعلٍ و عملٍ منه و يجعله نصب عينه و لا يقصد غيره في فعله، قال اللّه - تعالى -: ﴿ فَاسْتَقِيمُوا إلَيْهِ ﴾ -^٤

و إمّا في القول _و هو: مطابقته لما في الواقع، قال اللّه _ تعالى _: إنَّ اللّهَ مَعَ الصّادِقِينَ^٥، و لا شيء يزرى^٦ بالفتى كالكذب، فإنّه أفضع للرجال من حيض ربّات الحجال و أشنع للفتيان من إتيان الذّكران! _.

و إمّا في الفعل _ و هو: أن لا يفعل في السّر ما يستحيي مند في العلانية، و لا يترك سرّاً ما يفعل جهاراً، و لا يخالف ظاهره باطند و لا غيبه شهادتد، بحيث لو عرضت أعماله على العالمين لم يستنكف من شيءٍ منها، و لا يودّ⁴ إخفاء بعضها، و نعم القدم الصّدق، و لهذا سمّى الخير و ألحق بد قال اللّه _ تعالى _ : ﴿وَ بَشِّر الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَنَّ لَهُمْ قَدَمَ صِدْقٍ عندَ رَبِّمْ ﴾. و قال : ﴿في مَقْعَدِ صِدْقٍ عِنْدَ مَليك مُقْتَدِرٍ ﴾. فمن لم يصدق لا حظ له في الفتوة، بل لا خلق له من المروءة، و من اعتاد الصّدق فقد استفتح باب كلّ خير و استدفع كلّ ضيرٍ و استعدّ لكلّ سعادةٍ و كمالٍ و استحفظ من كلّ شقاوةٍ و وبالٍ _ .

و يلزمه الصّفاء؛ و هو: تنوّر الصّدر و انشراحه لقبول · · صورة الغيب. قال اللّــه ــتعالى ــ: ﴿أَفَنَ شَرَحَ اللّهُ صَدْرَهُ لِلْإِسْلامِ فَهُوَ عَلَىٰ نورٍ مِنْ رَبِّه ١ ﴾.

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من كرية ٥٥ القمر.

٢. م: - ال		 مقتبس من كريمة ٢٦٩ البقرة.
	٤. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٦ فصلت.	٣. م: - الله.
٧. م: لم يوه	٦. م: لايزرى شيء.	٥. راجع : ص .
٩. مقتبس		٨. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٢ يونس.
	 مقتبس من كريمة ٢٢ الزّمر. 	۱۰. س : بقبول.

و يستلزم جودة الفهم و الذَّكاء و الفراسة و اللَّب و الفطنة، قال أميرالمؤمنين_عليهالسَّلام _: من تبصّر الفطنة ظهرت له الحكمة ⁽.

و اللّب يقتضي التذكّر؛ قال اللّه ـ تعالى ـ: ﴿وَ مَا يَذَكَّرُ إِلَّا اوُلُوالْأَلْبَابِ ٢﴾، و الحفظ، قال اللّه ـ تعالى ـ : ﴿وَ تَعِيَهُا أُذْنُ واعِيةٌ ٣﴾.

رُوِى عن عبد الله بن الحسن لممّا نزلت هذة الآية قال رسول الله _ صلّى الله عليه و آله _ لعليّ _عليهالسّلام _: سألت الله أن يجعلها أذنك يا عليّ!. قال عليٌّ _عليهالسّلام _: فما نسيت شيئًا بعدها و ما كان لي أن أنسى^٤!

و يلزمها الهدايه التي هي نهاية الحكمة. _و الله الهادي!_

ألباب السّادس في الهداية

و هي انفتاح عين البصيرة بالتّوفيق و اكتحالها بنور التّأييد لرؤية المطلوب. قال اللّه ـ تعالى: ﴿أَوُلئكَ كَتَبَ فِي قُلوبِهِمُ الْإِيمَانَ و أَيَّدَهُمْ بِرُوح مِنْهُ ﴾.

و المرادُ بها هاهنا علم اليقين الفائض على العبد عند فرط الصّفاء عقيب النّظر و الإستدلال. فإنّ غاية الحكمة لا تتجاوز حدّه و لا ترقى إلى رتبة عين اليقين و حقّ اليقين، لأنّهما من باب الكشف العيانيّ و عالم القدرة و لاير تع حول حماه إلّا صاحب الولاية دون من سواه.

و هو قسمان:

وهات و

حيدة و

العادات

سْنية و

الحُ من

اهدات،

بری من

à à

ل لله و

ولولم

على

لاعتقاد

من الله

الميثاق

لمقه في

أحدهما: الهداية إلى معرفة لله و التّصديق بوجوده و توحيده و الإخلاص له و معرفة صفاته و أفعاله و أنبيائه و أوليائه و خاصّته و أصفيائه.

 ما وجدت ما نسبه المصنّف إلى سيّد الاوليا، _ سلام الله عليه و على ابنائه و آبائه _ في مظانّه كنهج البلاغة و غررالحكم و دررالكلم والمأة الختارة من كلامه و بحارالأنوار و غيرها. و قريبٌ منه ما نقل عنه _ عليه السّلام _ : من تبعر في الفطنة تبيّنت له الحكمة. راجع: نهج البلاغة، الحكمة ٣١ ص ٤٧٣. بحارالأنوار ج ٦٨ ص ٣٤٨.
 ٢. مقتبسٌ من كرية ٢٦٩ الجاقة.

٤. راجع: ص ٤٩٥.

٤. ٥ مقتبس من كرية ٢٢ الجادلة.

و الثمّاني: ألإهتداء إلى أحكامه من الواجبات و المندوبات و المجاحات والمكروهات و المحظورات و إلى المكرمات و الفضائل و محاسن الشيم و الشّمائل و الأخلاق الحميدة و الأوصاف الجميلة و ما يقدح في المروّة و الذين من السير المذمومة و الأفعال القبيحة و العادات الرّديئة و ما يجمّل الفتى و يشرّفه من السير المحمودة و الخصال المرغوبة و الآداب السّنية و المعالى المرضيّة.

و يلزمها إصابة الفكر و ثقابة الرّأى و سداد القول و صلاح العمل، و هي شرطً صالحً من الإستقامة، المشار إليها بقوله ـ تعالى ـ : ﴿فَاسْتَقِمْ كَا أُمِرْتَ وَ مَنْ تَابَ مَعَكَ آَ﴾.

لأند _عليدالسّلام _ مأمورٌ بهذه الأمور مع زياداتٍ [الف]: من باب " الأحوال و المشاهدات، كما وصفد الله _ تعالى _ بالإستقامة فيها بقوله: ﴿ما زاغَ الْبَصَرُ و ما طَغَىٰ ٤٠٠ و [ب]: أخرى من باب التّشريع و التقنين، كما أمره الله _ تعالى _ بقوله: ﴿فَاحْكُمْ بِينَهُمْ بِ الْقِسْطِ إِنَّ اللّهَ يُحِبُّ

فصاحب الفتوة يطالبُ الإستقامة ⁽¹ في العمل للّمو في اللّه، و صاحب الولاية في العمل للّه و في اللّه و باللّه ⁽¹)، و صاحب النّبوة يصدر مع ذلك كلّه من اللّه و عن اللّه وإلى اللّه دونهما، و لو لم يمنّ اللّه – تعالى –بالهداية على الفتى لم يتيسّر له خصلةً مّا من خصال الفتوة و لم يقدر على الشّجاعة و العفّة ⁽¹, فإنّ ابتنائهما على الإعتقاد الصّحيح و الحقّ الصّريح، و كلّما تشوّش الإعتقاد تزلزلت ⁽¹ القدم، إذ اليقين روح العمل، و أنّى يتحرّك الجسد بلا روح؟! و تلك هي ⁽¹ هبةً من اللّه – تعالى – و عنايةً خصّه اللّه – تعالى ⁽¹ – بها من يشاء، و وديعة استودعها في ذاته عند الميثاق يطالبه بها وقت التّلاق، كما قال النبيّ – صلّى اللّه عليه و آله – . : إنّ اللّه – تعالى – خلق خلقه في ظلمةٍ فألقى عليهم من نوره، فمن أصابه من ذلك النّور اهتدى و من أخطأه ضلّ⁽¹

١. س: - و المباحات.
 ٢. مقتبس من كرية ١١٢ هود.
 ٣. م: - باب.
 ٢. س: مطالب بالاستقامة.
 ٩. س: - تزلزل.
 ٩. م: - و بالله.
 ٩. م: - و بالله.

۵. مقتبسٌ من کریمة ٤٢ المائدة. ۸. م: ــوالعقّة. ۱۱. س: ــ تعالى.

و هم فرأوُلئكَ و اله فإنَّ غاين الكشف و هم أحد أفعاله و

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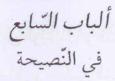
الله _ تعا

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 ۸. ما وجا دررالک تبیینت ۲. مقتبسر ٤. راجع:



و هي مبدأ نور العدالة و مفتتحها و مبني الصّداقة و عمدتها. و العدالة: هيئةً وجدانيّةً تعرض النّفس لمسالمة هذه القوى بعضها بعضًا و صورةً إجتماعيّةً للفضائل كلّها، فهي أفضلها و أشرفها، ولهذا أجاب حين سئل أميرالمؤمنين _عليه السّلام _ عن الجود و العدل، أيّهما أفضل؟ بقوله: العدل يضع الأشياء مواضعها و الجود يخرجها عن جهاتها. و العدل ستائس عامً و الجود عارضً خاصً فالعدل أفضلهما و أشرفهما^٩. و لمّا بعث رسول الله_صلّى الله عليه و آله _لتتميم مكارم الأخلاق ألقى الله _ تعالى _ بالوحي على لسانه: ﴿وَ أُمِرْتُ لِأَعْدِلَ بَيْنَكُمْ ﴾ ^٢.

و النّصيحة: إرادة الخير بالخلق و تنبيههم على طريق الصّلاح و البرّ و ترغيبهم فيما ينفعهم و تنفيرهم عمّا يضرّهم، كما قال هود لقومه _حين دعاهم إلى ربّه _: ﴿وَ أَنَالَكُمْ نَاصِحُ أَمِينُ ﴾ ٣.

و يلزمهما الأمانة؛ و هي: تحفّظ[؟] الودائع و الأسرار و ردّ الأولى على الأرباب و صون النّانية عن الأغيار و الإمتناع عن تغيّر أمور الخلق عن⁰ وجه الصّلاح، و باختلالها^٦ ينثلم المروّة، قال النبيّ _عليهالسّلام _: لامروءة لمن لا أمانة له^٧.

و الشَّفقة؛ و هي: صرف الهمَّة إلى إزالة المكرو، عن النَّاس. قال النَّـبي عـليه السَّـلام ــ: إنَّ أحدكم مرآة أخيه فإذا رآى به أذىً فليمطه عنه[^]. و قال: المؤمن مرآة المؤمن⁰، لأنَّه يتأمَّله فيسدَّ

٢. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ١٥ الشّوري. ١. راجع: ص ٤٤٧.

٦. م: باختلالها.

٣. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٦٨ الأعراف.

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٥. س: على.

۲. ما وجدت الزواية بعد بليغ الفحص في مصادر الفريقين؛ و قريبٌ منه: لا ايمان لمن لا امانة له. راجع: مسند احمد ج ٣ ص ١٣٥.

٤. س: بحفظ.

- ٨. راجع: سنن التُرمذي ج ٤ ص ٢٨٧ رقم ١٩٢٩. المغني عن حمل الأسفارج ٢ ص ٢٠٧. مشكاة المصابيح ٤٩٨٥. شرح السنة ج ١٣ ص ٩٢. اتحاف السّادة المتقين ج ٦ صص ٢٢٤، ٢٩١. كنزالعيّال ٥٥٥٥، ٢٤٧٥٢. كشف الخفاء ج ٢ ص ٢٥٦. والرّواية ما وجدتها في مآخذنا.
- ٩. راجع: بحارالأنوارج ٧٤ صص ٢٦٨، ٢٧٥ ما وجدتها في كتبنا الأربعة. و راجع أيضاً: سنن أبي داودج ص رقم ٤. راجع: بحارالأنوارج ٧٤ صص ٢٦٨، ٢٧٦، ٢٦٨، ٧٤٧. اتحاف السّادة المتقينج ٦ ٤٩١٨. السنن الكبرىج ٣ ص ٢٧٥. بحمع الزّوائدج ٧ ص ٢٦٤. كنزالعبّال ٢٧٢، ٢٧٣، ٧٢٧، اتحاف السّادة المتقينج ٦ م ٤٩١٨. مص ٢٢٢، ٢٢٢، ٢٢١، المغنى عن حمل الأسفارج ٢ ص ١٨١. تذكرة الموضوعات ١٤. كشف الخفاءج ٢ ص ٤٠٦.

طاقته و يجمّل حالته و يقرّب منه الرّأفة و الرّحمة ، و هما إرادة الكمال و الخير بالغير و السّعي في أيصالهما إليه، قبال الله - في وصف نبيّه - : ﴿ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُفٌ رَحِيمٌ ﴾ وقبال _عليدالسَّلام _: الرّاحمون يرحمهم الرّحمن إرحموا من في الأرض يرحمكم من في السَّماء ٢. و تستلزم صلة الرّحم؛ و هي: تشريك ذوي القرابة في الخيرات الدّنيويَّة، قال اللَّه _ تعالى _: ﴿ وَ آتَى المَالَ عَلَىٰ حُبِّه ذَوِي ٱلقُرْبِىٰ ٤﴾. و قال النبيّ -عليه السّلام -:ما من شيءٍ أطيع الله - تعالى - فيه بأعجل ثوابًا من صلة رحم⁰.

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و إصلاح ذات البين؛ و هو: التوسَّط بين النَّاس و في ۖ الخصومات بما يدافعها ٧. قــال اللَّــه - تعالى -: ﴿ وَ أَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُمْ ﴾؛ و هو -خاصَّةً - ممَّا ثبت لأصحاب الفتوَّة فيد قدمٌ حتّى اغْترموا فيه غراماتٍ و تحمّلوا لأجله دياتٍ و حبائاتٍ و تقبّلوا لإرضاء الخصوم أموالاً جمّةً و ضمنوا عروضًا دثرةً و أنفقوا فيها ما وجدوا و افترضوا لها ما فقدوا حتّى الوحشة ارتفعت و الألفة حصلت، فإنَّ العداوة و البغضاء من الشَّيطنة النَّكراء و هي غاية البعْد من اللَّه _ تعالى _!.

و يلزمه حسن الشَّركة؛ و هو: التَّعادل في المعاملات، قال الله _ تعالى _: ﴿ وَ يُلُ لِلْمُطَفِّفِينَ الَّذِينَ إِذَا اكْتَالُوا عَلَى النَّاسِ يَسْتُوفُونَ وَإِذَا كَالُوهُمْ أَوْوَزَنُوهُمْ يُخْسِرونَ ٢٠

و الإنصاف و الإنتصاف من نفسه و غيره؛

و الأوّل: تسوفية الحسقوق المساليّة و الجساهيّة و القسوليّة و الفسعليّة لمستحقّيها، قسال النبي عليدالسَّلام -: رحم اللَّه من أنصف ١٠.

> م: الرّحة والرّأفة.
> ٢. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ١٢٨ التّوبة. ٣. بأأنَّ للمصنَّف الكاشاني رسالةً في شرح هذا الحديث، نأتي بمصادره في ذيلها. راجع: ص ٦٥٧.

٤. مقتبس من كريمة ١٧٧ البقرة.

٥. راجع: الدُرَّالمنثور ج ٢ ص ٤٥ (باختلافٍ يسيرٍ في اللفظ). و ما وجدت الرّواية في مصادرنا و لا في غيره من مصادر اخواننا أهل السنة و الجماعة. ٦. س: - في.

٧. س: - يدفها. ٨ مقتبس من كريمة ١ الانفال.

٩. م: جنايات. .١. كريات ١ / ٢ / ١٢الطففين.

ما وجدت الرواية بعد بليغ الفحص في مصادر الفريقين، لا في مصادرنا و لا في مصادر اخواننا اهل السنة و الجماعة.

و الثَّاني: استيفاء تلك الحقوق لنفسه أو لغيره ممَّن لزمته و حقَّ تعليه. قال اللَّه _ تعالى _: ﴿ وَالَّذِينَ إِذَا أَصْابَهُمُ ٱلْبَغْيُ هُمْ يَنْتَصِرُونَ ﴾

و من لم يتّصف بهذه الثّلاثة، لم يقدر على الإصلاح بين النّاس و لم يؤثّر كلامه في بابه و لم ينجح مسعيه في مراده؛ إذ كلَّ قولٍ لا يصدِّقه الفعل فهو هراء، و كلَّ فعلٍ لا يصدر عن الحال فهو هياءً.

و هو ٤ يستلزم المكافأة؛ و المكافأة: مقابلة الإحسان بمثله أو زيادةٍ و إن لم يقدر فيما استطاع، قال الله - تعالى -: ﴿ وَ إِذَا حُيدتُمْ بِتَحِيَّةٍ فَحَيُّوا بِأَحْسَنِ مِنْهَا أَوْ رُدُّوها ﴾ 7. و الله النّبي _عليه السّلام _: من أولى معروفاً فليكافأ به فإن لم يستطع فليذكره، فإن ذكره فقد شكره . و حسن القضاء؛ و ٩ هو: الإمتناع عن المنَّ و النَّدم في المكافأة. قال الله ـ تـعالى ــ: ﴿هَلْ

جَزاءُ الْإحْسْانِ إِلَّا الْإحْسْانُ ؟ ` ().

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و هما خصلتان مؤدّيتان إلى التّودّد؛ و هو: طلب مودّة الأقران و الأكفاء و أهل الفضيلة و مستعدّيها من النّجباء بما يستدعى محبّتهم من حسن اللّقاء و الطّلاقة و البشاشة بحضورهم و المؤانسة بوجودهم و المؤاكلة معهم و إهداء التَّحف و الهدايا إليهم، كما قال النَّبيَّ-عليه السَّلام-: تهادوا تحابّوا ١٠ و قال: إنّ من المعروف أن تلقى أخاك بوجدٍ طلق ٢٢ ، و قال: التّودد نصف العقل". و هو يفضى إلى الألفة؛ و الألفة: اتَّفاق الآراء في المعاونة على تدبير المعيشة و انظمام

۲. م: لم ينجع.	٢. كريمة ١٣٩ الشّورى.	١. س: غيره.		
 مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٨٦ النّساء. 	0. م: ـ تعالى.	٤. م: هي.		
		۷. م: - و		
٨. راجع: الدُرالمنثور ج ٦ ص ٣٦٢. كنزالعبّال ١٦٥٦٩، ١٦٥٧٠. تهذيب تاريخ دمشق ج ٦ ص ٣٦٦. تاريخ بغداد ج ١٤ ص				
٩. م: - و	ة في مآخذنا.	۲۰۵. و ما وجدت الرّواي		
	١١. راجع: ص ٥٥٥.	كرية To الرَّحمن		
١٢. راجع: التّرغيب والتّرهيب ج ٣ ص ٤٢١. ما وجدت الحديث في غيره من مصادر اخواننا اهل السنَّة و الجماعة و لم يوجد				
		في مصادرنا أيضاً.		
الرّواية (حرفياً) ما وجدتها في طرقنا منسوباً إلى رسول	ى ١٧٩. الفقيه والمتفقَّه ج ٢ ص ٢٣. و	 ۱۳. راجع: الدُرُالمنثور ع م 		
مع: بحارالأنوارج ١ ص ٢٢٤، ج ٧١ ص ٢٤٩. و راجع	بٌ منه: التودّد إلى النّاس نصف العقل. راج	الله الأعظم (ص)، و قريم		

الأبدان لاتّحاد الأهواء في طلب المقصد و توجّه الوجهة ⁽، و قال النّبيّ ـ صلّى اللّـه عـليه و آله^۲ ـ: المؤمن آلفٌ مألوفٌ^۲.

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و هي تورث الصّداقة؛ و الصّداقة: محبّةً مبتنيةً على تـناسب الأرواح فـي الإزال و تسمّى الأخوّة _ أيضاً _ ، قال الله _ تعالى _ : ﴿ إِنَّا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةَ ﴾ ^٤.

و الإخوانيّة معظم أبواب^٥ الفتوّة و قاعدة بنيانها و أساس أمرها، إذهي مبتنيةً عليها و لا ينعقد لوائها بدون المؤاخاة، و لهذا يسّمون المقدّم «أخى»، و قال قطبهم و إمام أثمّتهم أميرالمؤمنين علىّ بن أبي طالبٍ _عليهالسّلام _:أعجز النّاس من عجز عن إكتساب الإخوان و أعجز منه^٢ من ضيّع من ظفر به منهم^٧.

و لعمري أنّها أحسن طرائق[^] النّاس و أجملها، بها يتعلّق مصالح الدّين و الدّنيا[°] و يتيسّر السّعادة القصوى، و بوجودها يتهنّأ كلّ لذّةٍ و نعيمٍ و بحصولها يتسهّل كلّ مطلبٍ عظيمٍ يذلّ له كلّ صعبٍ و يستحقر عندها كلّ دأبٍ، و كفى بعلوّشأنها و إنارة برهانها مارُوي عن اللّه – تعالى –: وجبت محبّتي للمتحابّين فيّ و وجبت محبّتي للمتواصلين فيّ ^١!

وغايتها الوفاء؛ إذ به يتمَّ الإخاء. _و الله بيده المنع و العطاء! _.

أيضاً؛ الكامل في الضِّعفاء ج ٣ ص ١٤٣. و جديرٌ بالذَّكر أنَّ المرويُّ في المتن يوجد في مصادرنا غير منسوبٍ إلى الرسول (ص). فراجع: نهج البلاغة، الحكمة رقم ١٤٢ ص ٤٩٥. بحار الأنوارج ٧٤ ص ١٦٨، ج ٢٨ ص ٦٥ (حيث رواه عن أميرالمؤمنين(ع)). كشف الغمَّة ج ٢ ص ٢٩٦. بحارالأنوارج ٢٨ صص ٢٥٤، ٢٥٨ (حيث رواه عن سادس الائمة ١. س: الجهة. النجباء (ع)). ٢. م: عليه السّلام. ٢. راجع: ص ٥ ٥٠٠. ٤. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ١٥٠ الحجرات. ٥. م: ارباب. ٧. راجع: ص ٥٥١. T. 9: ang. ٩. س: _ والدُّنيا. ٨. م: طوائف. ١٠. راجع: ص

· ألب*اب الثّامن* في الوفاء

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ألوفاء نهاية أقدام الفتوة و كمال المنّة فيها و القوّة؛ إذ الفتوّة بصفاء الفطرة و زكاء النّفس، و الفطرة لا تصفو من ظلمة الجبلّة و النّفس لا تزكو عن الرّذيلة إلا عند الوفاء بالعهد القديم، فإذا تمّ الوفاء و ارتفع الغطاء و حصل كلّ سجيّةٍ كريمةٍ و لزم كلّ فضيلةٍ سنيّةٍ، و ما بـقي شيء من الكمالات الّتي اقتضتها الفطرة بحسب صفاء استعدادها الأوّل في هذه الصّفاء التّاني بالقوّة لم يوف العبد بعهد اللّه المأخوذ عليه ميثاقه و لم يوف حقّ الرّبوبيّة ـ الذي يجب عليه أداؤه ـ ، فلما يكمل فتوّته و صفاؤه، و لهذا وصف الله ـ تعالى ـ أوّل من تفتّى و سلمت فطرته . و ما بقى بقوله: فإيْرَاهيمَ الَّذي وَفَىٰ ٢٠ و مدح قطب الأقطاب و سيّد الفتيان بقوله: ﴿ يُوفُونَ بِالنَّذِرِ ٢٠

و هو: الخروج عن عهدة العهد السابق بإحكام العقد اللّاحق و المحافظة على عهود الإخوان بملازمة طريق المواساة و الإحسان و رعاية حقوق الأصدقاء بالقيام بما يحب عليه من شرط الإخاء. قال اللّه _ تعالى _: ﴿ إِنَّا يَتَذَكَّرُ اوُلُوالأَلْبَابِ ﴾. ﴿ الَّذِينَ يُوفُونَ بِعَهْدِ اللّهِ وَلا يَنْقُضُونَ المِيْاقَ ﴾ ٣.

و اللب: هو خلاصة عجوهر الفطرة السَّليمة الخالصة من قشر النُّشآت ؟.

و العهد: هو ايداع قوّة معرفته و توحيده و العلم بربوبيّته فيها و ركز^٦ الأدلّة في طباعها. و لا تظهر تلك القوّة و لا تبرز إلى الفعل إلّا بإحكام عقد الايمان و التزام شرائع الإسلام و القـيام بوظائف حق العبوديّة و أداء حقوق الرّبوبيّة. قال اللّه^٧ ـ تعالى ـ: ﴿ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَوْفُوا بِٱلْعُقودِ^{^^}﴾، و ذلك هو الوفاء مع اللّه ـ تعالى ـ.

و أمّا الوفاء مع الخلق؛فهو: الّتمسك بحبل المودّة و التّنبّت على حكم الخلّة بحيث لا ينخزل عمّا شرط و لا يفتر فيما وعد، و يوطّن نفسه على أن لا يريد بنفسه خيرًا إلّا و يريد بالخليل أوّلاً

1.4.4	٢. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٧ الدُّهر.	١. كريمة ٣٧ النّجم.
٥. م: النشأة.	٤. م: خاصة.	٣. كريمتان ١٩/٢٠ الرّعد.
۸ م: بالعهد.	۷. س: + تبارک.	٦. س: ركن.

• ۵۵ / رسائل فلسفي و عرفاني عبدالرزاق كاشاني

و يؤثر، على نفسه عند الفاقة و يقدّمه وقت الحاجة، ساعيًّا في تحصيل مآربه و منافعه، دافعًا لمكارهه و مضارّه، مفديًا له بنفسه و ماله عند خطر، و اختلال حاله، قال الله ـ تعالى ـ في أهل الغدر: ﴿ مَا كَانَ لِأَهْلِ ٱلْدَينَةِ و مَنْ حَوْلَهُمْ مِنَ آلأَعْرَابِ أَنْ يَتَخَلَّفُوا عَنْ رسُولِ اللّـهِ و لا يَرْغَبُوا بِأَنْفُسِمِمْ عن نَفْسِه ﴾.

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و كما أنّ المؤفي فائزُ بالقدح المعلّى من الفتوّة حائزُ للخصلة الحسنى من الفضيلة، فالغادر مردودٌ عن بابها، مطرودٌ عن جنابها، منغمسٌ في لؤمه و دناءته، مسترذلٌ لخسّته و حقارته، برىءٌ من الدّين و الملّة، حريُ بالمهانة و الذلّة. قال اللّه _ تعالى _: ﴿إِنَّ اللّهَ لا يُحِبُّ آلخائنينَ ٢﴾. و قال النّبيّ _عليه السّلام _: لا دين لمن لا عهد له ⁷.

ألباب التّاسع في آفات الفتوّة و قوادح المروّة

من أعظم آفاتها الدعوي و رؤية النفس فضيلتها بتبعيّة ¹ الهوى؛ فإنّ بناء أمرهم على التّجرد عن العلائق و قلّة المبالاة بالعوائق، و ذلك لا يتهيّأ إلّا بفناء الأوصاف البشّريّة و زوال الدّواعى الطّبيعيّة من محبّة الجاه و الكرامة و الغلبة و سائر مقتضيات الهوى، فما بقيت منها بقيّة و أخذ القلب في طريق الفضيلة بنور الفطرة تأثّرت النّفس بها و انتحلت نوريّتها فطغت و ظهرت⁰ بالدّعوى و بطرت و استولت على القلب بوصفٍ أرقّ و ألطف ممّا لها بذاتها فحجبت الفطرة عن نمالها و منعتها عن بلوغ غايتها و مرادها، و صارت فضيلتها رذيلة مور ثداً للعجب و الكبر، خطّتها⁷ نفسها بزينتها و بهجتها و اغترّت و غرّت صاحبها بالحسبان، و الفضيلة لا تثبت بحصولها و تتمّا دون وقتٍ و صدور الفعل من صاحبها مرّةً بعد مرّةٍ، بل هي ملكة مستقرّةً في النّفس و تتمّا دون وقتٍ و مدور الفعل من صاحبها مرّةً بعد مرّةٍ، بل هي ملكة مستقرّة في النّفس و تتمّا دون وقتٍ و مدور الفعل من صاحبها مرّةً بعد مرّةٍ، بل هي ملكة مستقرّة في النّفس و تتمّا دون وقتٍ و مدور الفعل من صاحبها مرّةً بعد مرّةٍ، بل هي ملكة مستقرّة في النّفس

١. كريمة ١٢٥ التّوبة. ٢. مقتبس من كرية ٥٨ الانفال. ٣. راجع: ص ٣٦٠. ٤. س: يقية. ٥. م: ظهرك. ٦. م: موجبة. ٧. م: للاحظتها.

نهو يكذّب نفسه بايهامها تصوّر كمالٍ ليست منه في شيءٍ؛ و ذلك هو العجب الّذي وصفه النّبيّ -عليهالسّلام - بقوله (: لَو لَم تذنبُوا لخشيتُ عليكم أشدُّ من الدّنبِ العجب! العجب! ^٢. و يكذّب غيره بإظهار فضيلةٍ ليست فيه، و هو الكبر الّذي قال فيه: من تكبّر وضعه اللّه. و لا مهجّن للمروّة كالكذب! و إذا انهدمت^٣ قاعدة المروّة إنهدم بنيان الفتوّة، و صحّ معنى قولهم: كلّ مدّع كذّاب؟!

ولو حصلت الفضيلة شاهدت النفس فضل ربّها و فرط عناية خالقها بها حيث و هب له من فيضه الأقدس استعداد قبولها و فطرها صافيةً قابلةً و لم يخلقها كزّةً جاسيةً، ثمّ وفّقها للتّزكية و التصفية و إعداد المعدّات بالتمّلب في قواليب القربات و التّشبث بأهداب الصّالحات ثمّ أفاض عليها تلك الكمالات بتجلّى أنوار الصّفات، فتضاءلت خضوعًا و تواضعاً و تفانت شكراً و حياءً. لاَنَها علمت بنور الهداية الحقّانيّة أنّ النّفس مأوى كلّ شرّو منبع كلّ رجسٍ إذ هى من بقعة الإمكان و الشرور كلّها أمورً عدميّةً ظلمانيّةً تنشأ من حيّز الإمكان و الخيرات أمورً وجوديّةً نورانيّةً تفيض من حضرة الرّحمن، وكلّ ممكنٍ فليس له من ذاته إلّا العدم، فمن أين له الفضل و أنّى له لاكمال!

و من آفاتها التّبذير و الإسراف؛ لأنّ سلوك طريق الفضيلة صعبٌ و لزوم الجادة الوسطى مشكلٌ و الإحتياط في باب الجود هو الإمالة ألى طرف الإفراط، إذ البخل مذمومٌ منافٍ للفتوّة معلومٌ تنافيها ٤ بالضرورة، فربّما هرب صاحبها من الرّذيلة و جدّ في الهرب فوقع في جانب الإفراط و مدحه على ذلك الجاهل بالفضيلة أو المحتذي^٤ بتلك الرّذيلة فرسخ في نفسه و دخلت الآفة من حيث لا يشعر فيبذل موجوده لا على وجه إرادة السّماح، و هو من الجود ليس في مغدىً و لا مراح. قال الله _ تعالى _: ﴿إِنَّ ٱلمُبَذِّرِينَ كَانُوا إِخُوانَ الشَّياطينِ^٥».

وكذا التهور بعين ما ذكرناه؛ فأنَّ الجبان لا يشكّ في رذالته. و ربّما يطلب الحمد طالب الفتوَّة لجهالته، فير تكب الأخطار لا لحماية الدّين و الملّة و لا لحميّة الأهل و الحوزة و يلقى بيده إلى التّهلكة، يحسب نفسه من الشّجاعة بمنزلٍ و هو بالحقيقة عنها بمعزل.

> ۱. م: -بقوله. ٤. م: المجتذي.

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۲. راجع: ص ٤٠٠.
 ۲. م: انتلمت.
 ٥. مقتبس من كريمة ٢٧ الاسراء.

و منها الخمود و الضعّة و الإنظلام، فإنّ الإحتياط في العفّة و التّواضع و العدالة هو الإمالة إلى جانبها، و النّفس مائلةً إلى أضدادها، و لا يخفى منقصة الشّر، و التّكبر و الظّلم على أحدٍ، فربّما ادّى الإجتناب منها و الإحتياط فيها إلى العجز و الخمود و التّسخر للظّلمة و الذلّة و الضّعة ^١؛ وَ بَعْضُ ٱلْحِلْم عِنْدَ ٱلْجَهْلِ لِلذِلَّةِ إِذْعَانً

و منها المفاخرة و المباهاة؛ و هي قريبةُ من الدّعوى و أخفّ منها و أخفى، و منشأها أيضًا ظهور النّفس بصفة الجهل و إلّا لعلمت إختصاص كلّ أحدٍ بـخاصيّةٍ ليست لغـيره، فـانقمعت و انقهرت و ذلّت و تذلّلت.

الباب العاشر

في الفرق بين الفتى و المتفتّي و المدّعي

ألفتى هو الكامل في الفضائل الخلقيّة المجتنب من الدّنايا و الرّذائل النّفسيّة على بصيرةٍ من أمره و بيّتةٍ من ربّه ذا قدمٍ راسخةٍ فيها و نفسٍ مطمئنّةٍ متمكّنةٍ منها، قد صارت السّجايا الأربع بأنواعها ملكاتٍ في نفسه لا تتغيّر و لا تتبدّل، عارفًا بدقائق الآفات و تفاريق العاهات من دخول جزئيّات النّفاق و الرّياء و شرب النّفس من البهجة و البهاء، مطواع النّفس لكلّ فعلٍ جميلٍ بلا تفكّرٍ و رويّةٍ منقاد الطّبع لكلّ خطبٍ جليلٍ بلا توقّفٍ و كلفةٍ.

و المتفتي الآخذ في طريقها، السّاعي لتحصيلها متطلعاً إلى غايتها متكلفاً في خصالها، يتردّد لم في التّلوينات و يلوم نفسه عند الوثبات و الغلبات، لم يصف² بعد من شوب النّفس و مزج الهوى، و لم يتقوّ على قمع الطّبع و ترك المنى، و لم يجمدزلال إستعداده و لم تَبْرُدْ حرارة طلبه و اجتهاده و لم تخمد نار شوقه في ترقيّه و ازدياده؛ فهما كالخادم المتمرّن في الخدمة للّه، البرىء من شائبة الرّياء و الطّمع و توقّع المدح و التّناء و العوض، و المتخادم المتمرّن في يرتاض في تمرين الخدمة و يجهد نفسه بالبذلة، مجاهداً في سبيلها، مراعيًّا لشروطها تطهّر نفسه تارةً بالهوى و يغلب هـو أخرى بالتّقي.

٢. م: اربعة.

٩. م: الضّعفة.
 ٤. س: لم يتّصف.

۳. م: يردد.

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فهو يكذ

و أمّا المدّعي ألمتزى بزيّ الفتيان فهو كالمتشبّه بالخدّام لغرض الجاه أو الطّمع في المال، الجاعل ⁽ خدمته ذريعةً إلى جذبه و وسيلةً إلى جمعه، يركب الأخطار لا شجاعةً، و يبذل الأموال لا سخاوةً، بل تطاولاً على الأقران و تقدّمًا على الإخوان، يتفاوت أحواله في الجبن و التّهور و يتباعد أفعاله في البخل و السّرف؛ كما قيل:

يُعْطِي وَ يَمْنَعُ لا بُخْلاً وَ لا كَرَماً

لا يتناسب أخلاقه و لا يتغارب سيره و عادته و لا يتساوى ظاهره و ياطنه و لا يتماثل سرّه وعلنه، يقدم تارةً على خطرٍ عظيمٍ و خطبٍ جسيمٍ على رؤوس ذوي الشّطارة و الدّعارة تسخيراً لهم و ايقاعاً للهيبة في صدورهم، و يحمل على جمع كثيرٍ في حربٍ شديدٍ إظهارً للجلادة و طلباً للمحمدة، و لحجم اخرى عن أقلّ من ذلك حيث⁷ لا يتوقّع شيئاً من أغراضه و إن كان فيه حماية دينه و جيرته و أعراضه، يسمح نفسه ببذل الكثير الدّثر من المال عند مُراءة النّاس أو معارضة مدّعٍ آخر و إن لم يكن في محلّ الإستحقاق و يشحّ بعشر عشيرٍ⁷ عند عدم شيءٍ من معارضة مدّعٍ آخر و إن لم يكن في محلّ الإستحقاق و يشحّ بعشر عشير⁷ عند عدم منيء من نلك و إن كان حقًّا بموقعه و وضعًا في موضعه و فيه رضى الحقّ و ارتضاء الخلق و تذمّماً و لا يعنّ سرًّا و باطنًا إستحياءً من الحق² و تكرّمًا، يظلم تارةً حيث يقدر و لا يخاف من فضيحة الخلق و عقوبة الخالق و إن كان المظلوم ضعيفًا مسكينًا مرحومًا من غير رحمةٍ عليه و خشيةٍ من اللّه و يتظلّم أخرى لعجز نفسه أو إظهار تحمّله أو⁰ تجرّده و تعفيقه و لا ينز جز عن الظلم إلّا الملق و متطلم أخرى لعجز نفسه أو إظهار تحمّله أو و تجرّده علو تعفيه و لا ينز جز عن الظلم إلّا من اللّه و متطلم أخرى لنجز نفسه أو إظهار تحمّله أو⁰ تجرّده علي تعفيه و من ينو بر عن الظلم إلّا من اللّه و متظلم أخرى لنجز نفسه أو إظهار تحمّله أو م تجرّده و منا يعير رحمةٍ عليه و خشيةٍ من اللّه و متطلم أو من كان المظلوم ضعيفًا مسكينًا مرحومًا من غير رحمةٍ عليه و نه ينو من اللّه و متعلم من المتوياة عنو معدودٍ من أصحاب المروّة؛ فليجتنب المتفتّى أمثاله و ليحترز

> ۱. س: الجاهل. ٤. س: - وارتضاء ... الحقّ. ٥. م: و.

전력 IS 24 24 MEAN 19 명을 .

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٣. س : عشيرة. ٦. س : طريقهم.

خاتمةً

تشتمل على فصول

الفصل الأوَّل في طريق اكتساب الفتوّة

من خطر على قلبه خاطر التفتى و انبعث من باطنه داعية الفتوة فليستبشر من نفسه بسلامة الفطرة و صلاحية الولاية، و ليشكر الله _ تعالى _ على ذلك، فإنّ صحّة الدّاعية و قـوّة الإرادة علامة القابليّة، و ليجتهد في الطّلب، فإنّ صدق الطّلب أمارة الوجدان، وليجتنب أوّلاً من مفسدات المروّة و مهجّناتها من الكذب و الغيبة و الطّمع و الحرص و الشّر، و الغدر و الخيانة و الجفاء و الدّناءة و الخسّة و الصّلف والقحة و اتّباع الهوى و محبّة الدّنيا و مجالسة السّفلة و أهل الفسوق و الدّناءة و مخالطة الأشرار و مصاحبة الشطّار و ذوى الفجّار و المناقشة في محقّرات الأموال و الريبة و مخالطة الأشرار و مصاحبة الشطّار و ذوى الفجّار و المناقشة في محقّرات الأموال و بنيانها.

و بالجملة ^٢كلّ ما يشين الدّين و يزرى بالعفاف و يورث الذلّة و الهوان فهو مباين^٣ للمروّة، و من لم يحكم القاعدة و الأساس فبناؤه حرىً بالخراب و سعيه في معرض الضّياع!. أوصى حكيمً إبنه فقال: يا بنيّ! عليك بالمروّة، فواللّه لو أنّي أعلم أنّ الماء البارد يشلم^٤

٢. س: في الجملة.

۱. س : ينثلم. ٤. س : ينثلم.

٣. س : متباين.

مروّتي ما شربته إلّا حارّاً!.

DOV

آتيك

يأذن

على!

البيت

البيت

الأمته.

نفًا، و

أخذ

نیل و

-رب

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بان و

زار ٩

ريف

كمة

سات

في

وليتعوّد في عنفوان شبابه و حداثة سنّه بمراسمها و مقوّماتها من أضداد ما ذكرناه و أنواع البرّ و السّماحة و حسن الخلق و الظّرافة و معاونة المعارف و صلة الأقارب و الأجانب و أمثال ذلك و إِلَا تعسّر عليه عند الطّعن في السنّ، كما أنشد بعض فتيان العرب :

إذَا الْمَرْءُ أَعيَنْهُ الْمُرُوءَةُ نِـاشِياً فَــمَطْلَبُهُا كَـهُلاً عَـلَيْهِ شَـدِيدُ

ثمّ ليريد لنفسه مقدّمًا في الفتوّة، كاملاً فيها، موصوفًا بالفضائل المذكورة، متدرّباً بها و ليتّصل به معطياً إيّاه مملّكًا إيّاه زمامه، فإنّ المنقطع عن القطب و المنفرد عن الجماعة فريسة الشّيطان خارجً عن زمرة الفتيان، وليقتد بأفعاله و أخلاقه و آدابه وليصدر عن رأيه متمسّكًا بأقواله متقلّباً في أحواله ممتثلاً لأوامره و نواهيه ساعياً في مقاصده و مساعيه نازلاً لحكم^٢ إختياره منسلخاً عن مراده، وليخرج بحسن إختياره عمّا يطالبه به نفسه و تأمره، فلا مانع له عن وصول الكمال إلّا دواعي النفس و لا عائق له عن بلوغ الغاية إلّا أمانيها فليحترز عن ذلك، و ليصطحب إخوانًا و رفقاء همّهم^٢ الفضيلة و دأبهم الطّريقة، وليتّخذ لنفسه أحبابًا و أصدقاءً شأنهم الفتوّة و خلقهم المروّة حتّى يتدّرب نفسه بصحبتهم و ينشأ على شاكلتهم.

فَكُلُّ قَرِينٍ بِٱلْمُقَارِنِ يَقْتَدِي

وليعلم أنّ العمدة في اكتساب الفتوّة إجتناب الرّذائل، فإنّ التّروك أسهل و أخفّ على النّفس. و إذا زالت و تزكّت النّفس تصفّت الفطرة فحصلت الفضائل بلا لبسٍ و لا مؤونة تعمّلٍ و كسبٍ. قال اللّه ـ تعالى ـ : ﴿فَاَمّا مَنْ أَعْطَىٰ وَ اتَّقٰى وَ صَدَّقَ بِالْحُسْنَىٰ فَسَنُيَسِّرُهُ لِلْيُسْرِىٰ ٤﴾ ـ و اللّه هو الميسر لكلّ عسيزٍ! ـ .

الفصل الثّانى في بيان مأخذها و ابتداء طريقها^٥ رُوِى أنّه رفع إلى رسول اللّه _صلّى اللّه عليه و آله _ذات يومٍ _ و هو في بعض أصحابه: أنّ

M. 9: 00000.

۱. س : + شعراً. ٤. کریات ۷/٦/۵ الّلیل. ۵. س : طریقیها

(رجلاً و امرأةً قد اجتمعا في بيتٍ على فسادٍ، فاستحضرهما ، فقام بعض الصّحابة و قال: أنا آتيك بهما يا رسول الله ا فقال: ليس هذا شأنك او كذا استأذنه جماعةً منهم واحدً بعد واحدٍ، فلم يأذن لأحدهم ، فدخل عليهم على عليه السّلام -، فقال النبي - صلّى الله عليه و آله -: يا على ا إذهب فإن وجدتهما فأت بهما. فانطلق إلى باب البيت و غمّض عينيه و أخذ يطوف بالبيت متجسّسًا، فانفلتا، ئمّ خرج مفتوح العين راجعًا إلى رسول الله، فلمّا لقيه، قال: ما رأيت فى البيت أحدًا فاستهل وجه النبيّ و تفرّس بنور النبوّة ما كان منه، و قال ?: يا على، أنت فتى هذه الأمّة، ثمّ دعا بماءٍ في قدح و ملح، فأتى بهما ³ سلمان الفارسي رحمه الله ⁶ فأخذ من الملح كفًا، و قال: هذه الشريعة، فطرحها في القدح، ثمّ أخذ كفًّا أخرى و قال ؟: يا على، أنت فتى هذه الأمّة، تم دعا بماءٍ في قدح و ملح، فأتى بهما ³ سلمان الفارسي رحمه الله ⁶ فأخذ من الملح كفًا، و قال: هذه الشريعة، فطرحها في القدح، ثمّ أخذ كفًّا أخرى و قال ؟: يا على أنت فتى هذه الأمّة، و منا، و قال المان و قال الماح في الماح كفًا، و

ئم أمر سلمان برفاقه على فسقّاه على القدح و أمر حذيفة اليمانى برفاقة سلمان، فشرب القدح من يده، ثمّ ألبس^٧ عليًا _صلوات الله عليه _ إزاره و شدّ وسطه و قال: اكمّلك يا على ^٨!. فهذا الخبر هو مأخذ الفتوّة و الأصل المعتمد عليه في هذه الطّريقة الذي واظب عليه الفتيان و أسّسوا على ذلك طريقهم و بنوا عليه ما تداولوه و تعارفوا عليه من شرب القدح و لبس الإزار^٩ و شدّ الوسط، و صحّحوا بذلك نسبتهم و شجرتهم، و في كلّ ذلك سرًّ و إشارة إلى معنى شريف هو صورة ذلك المعنى.

أمّا شرب الماء و الملح، فالماء إشارةً إلى العلم الحاصل بصفاء الإستعداد الأزلىّ و الحكمة الموهوبة بسابقة العناية الّتي هي ضالّة كلّ مؤمنٍ، إذبه حيات القلوب كالماء الّـذي بــه حــيات الأجساد؛

و الملح إشارة إلى معنى العدالة، فإنَّ الطَّعام لا يصلح و لا يعتدل طعمه إلَّا به و هو أصلُ في

٨. م: فاستخرجها.
 ٢. م: لأحد.
 ٣. م: فقال.
 ٩. م: لما معنه.
 ٨. ما وجدت الرّواية في مصادر الفريقين.

٩. س: - و لبس الازار.

الأطعمة الَّتي يتقوَّى و ينمو بها الأبدان، كما أنَّ الكمال الخلقيَّ لا يصلح و لا يستقيم إلَّا بالعدالة، و هي (أصلُ في المقامات الثَّلاثة المذكورة الَّتي يتقوّي و يكمل بها القلوب.

و أمّا لبس الإزار فإشارةً ^٢ إلى فضيلة العفاف، فإنّ ذلك صورة ستر العورة و منع الفرج عن الشّهوة و هو الأصل في العفاف و العمود الّذي قام به جميع أنواعه.

و أممّا شدّ الوسط فهو إشارة إلى فضيلة الشّجاعة و تمرين النّفس بالقيام بالخدمة، فإنّه صورتها، و فيها أقصى غاية التّواضع الذي هو أساس الشّجاعة و صورة الجهاد الذي هو كمالها و سمّاه تكميلاً، لأنّ كمال العلم بالعمل، و المعتبر في الفتوّة هو العمل الذي يسمّونه قدمًا، لا العلم المسمّى بالنّظر، فإنّ صاحب النّظر عندهم نازلً عن درجة صاحب القدم. فثبت أنّ هذه الأوضاع أمورً يشار بها الى جميع الفضائل التي يتمّ بها^٦ الفتوّة و يحصل بها صلاحية الولاية. و لأمرٍ ما جعلوا خرقة الفتوّة الإزار و خرقة التّصوف الطّاقيّة، فإنّ أوّل قدمٍ فيها التّحفف، و هو يتعلّق بالأسافل، و مبدأ أمر التصوّف هو التّرقي المتعلّق بالأعالى.

و سنّوا في التّصوف حلق الرّأس دون التّفتي، إشارةً إلى إزالة موانع التّرقي و بداوة الّذي هو مقصدهم.

و أمّا التّفتى، فهو إقتناء الفضائل و إحراز المكارم، فلا حاجة فيها إلى ذلك، لأنّه يقتضي الوجود.

و سمّو الكامل في الولاية «الشّيخ»، و الكامل في الفضيلة «الفتى»، لأنّ الأوّل في مقام الرّوح الذي هو محض النّور و غاية الكمال المعنويّ المنتهي إلى الفناء الحقيقيّ؛ كما أنّ الشيخوخة هيئة البياض و غاية الكمال الصّوري المنتهي إلى الفناء البدنيّ، و الثّاني في مقام القلب الّذي هو غاية القوّة النّفسانيّة و كمال الفطرة الإنسانيّة دون الرّتبة الرّوحانيّة، كما أنّ الفتوّة غاية القوّة الجسمانيّة و كمال الصّورة البشريّة لا القوّة العقليّة، و يلزم من ذلك أنّ الذي في مقام النّفس هو الصبيّ بحسب المعنى، و ظهر أنّ نهاية الفتوة بداية الولاية؛ كما ذكّ الفتوّة جزءً من التّصوف كما، أنّ الولاية جزءً من النّبوة. _و اللّه أعلم! _³.

۲. س: اشارة ۲. م: بها يتم.

الفصل الثَّالث

في خصائص أرباب الفتوّة و سيرهم و طريقتهم قال الله ـ تعالى ـ : ﴿ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالُ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُو اللّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمَنْهُمْ مَنْ قَضِىٰ نَحْبَهُ و منْهُمْ مَنْ يَنتَظِرُ و مَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْديلاً ﴾ . مدحهم الله ـ تعالى ـ بكمال الرّجوليّة و صدق الوعد و الوفاء بالعهد، فإنّ الوفاء تمام البرّ و ختام الأمر فيها كما اشير إليه، و به وصف الله ـ تعالى ـ اسماعيل ـ عليه السّلام ـ حيث قال: ﴿إنَّهُ كان صَادِقَ الْوَعْدِ⁷ ﴾. و قال في وصف الله ـ تعالى ـ الماعين الوفاء بالعهد، فإنّ الوفاء تمام البرّ و ختام الأمر فيها كما اشير إليه، و به وصف الله ـ تعالى ـ المأوفُونَ بِعَهْدِهِمْ إذا عاهَدُوا^عَ</sup>.

و لقد أحسن المأمون في بعض منشآته بقوله[°]:

إحْفَظْ خَليلَكَ لا تَقْطَعْ مَوَدَّتَةُ لا بارَكَ اللهُ فيمَنْ خَانَ أو قَطَعا و أنشد بعض فتيان العرب:

فَأَكُرِمْ أَخَاكَ الدَّهْرَ مَادُمْتُمَا مَعًا كَـفَىٰ بِـالْمَمَاتِ فُـرْقَةً و تَـنَائياً و من خصائصهم المبالغة في حفظ الأسرار و صونها عن الأغـيار حتّى لو هدّد أحـدهم بالسّيف و اوعد بأنواع الضيم و عذّب بالنيران لما وجد منه غير الكتمان. و قد ورد التّعيير على الإذاعة في التّنزيل حيث قال: ﴿وَ إِذَا جَاءَهُمْ أَمَرٌ مِنَ الأَمْنِ أَوِ الْخَوْفِ أَذَاعُوا بِهِ ﴾ و أنشد بعضهم:

وَ فِنْيَانِ صِدْقٍ لَسْتُ مُطْلِعَ بَعْضِهِمْ عَلَىٰ سِرُّ بَعْضٍ غَيْرَ أَنِّي جِمَاعُهَا لِكُلَّ المرءِ شِعْبٌ مِنَ الْقَلْبِ فَارِغُ وَ مَوْضِعُ نَجْوى لا يُرامُ اطِّلاعُها يَظَلُّونَ شَتْى فِي آلبِلادِ و سِرُّهُمْ إلىٰ صَخْرَةٍ أَعْيَا الرِّخالَ انْصِداعُها و منها التّكرّم؛ و هو: حماية الحرمة و رعاية الحشمة في مواقع التّهمة و مواضع الذلّة و الريبة و الإعراض عن مجاراة اللّئام والسّفهاء صيانةً للعرض و إبقاءً للرّواء، كما أنشد بعضهم: و لَقْد أَمُرُّ عَلَىَ اللَّئِيمِ يَشَبَّنِي و لَقُد أَمُرُّ عَلَى اللَّئِيمِ يَشَبَّنِي

س: طرائقهم.
 مقتبس من كرية ١٧٧ البقرة.
 مقتبس من كرية ١٧٧ النساء.

۳. مقتبسٌ من کریمة ۵۶ مریم. ۵. م: _ بقوله.

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الشهوة

وقال آخر:

أَلَـمْ تَـعْلَمي أَنَّـي إِذَا النَّـفْسُ أَشْـرَفَتْ عَــلىٰ طَــمَعٍ لَــمْ أَنْسَ أَنْ أَتَكَــرَّمَا و قال آخر:

وَ لَلْكَفُ عَنْ شَنْم اللَّئيم تَكَرُّمًا أَضَّرُ لَهُ مِنْ شَنْمِه حينَ يُشْتَمُ

و منها سعة الصّدر لتجرّد نفوسهم عن العلائق الدّنيويّة و علوّ هممهم عن المناهج الفانية فلا تغرّهم الأماني و لا تستخفّهم الحظوظ والمقادير'، لا يحزنون بفواتٍ و لا يفرحون بما هوآتٍ، كما قال بعضهم:

كُلَّاعَرَفْتُ فَلَا النَّعْمَاءُ تُبْطِرُنِي وَلا تَخَشَّعْتُ مِنْ لأَوَانِها جَزَعاً

لا يَمْلَأُ الْهَوْلُ صَدْرِي قَبْلَ مَـوْقِعِه و لا أَضــيقُ بِـه ذَرْعًـا إذا وَقَـعَا لا يغشاهم حسدٌ و لا يلحقهم حقدٌ، كما قال قائلهم:

وَ إِنِّي لَتَرَّاكُ الضَّغينَةِ قَـدْ بَـذا ثَرَاهَا مِنَ المَوْلىٰ فَمَا أَسْتَثيرُهَا لا يحتفلون بخيانةٍ و لا يبالون بملامةٍ، قال الله ـ تعالى ــ: ﴿ يُجاهِدُونَ في سَبيلِ اللّهِ و لا يَخافُونَ لَوْمَةَ لاَئِمٍ آَهِ، و أُنشد بعضهم:

وَ إِذَا الْفَتَىٰ عَرَفَ الرَّشادَ لِنَفْسِه هٰ انَتْ عَلَيْهِ مَلامَةُ الْعُذَّالِ

و منها الرّفق و المداراة و لين الجانب مع مساكين^٣ المؤمنين و ضعفائهم، و الغلظة و العزّة و التّشدد مع مردة الكفّار و العصاة و أقويائهم.

و كان من حسن مداراة رسول الله _صلّى الله عليه و آله _ أن لا يـذمّ طـعامًا و لا يـنهر خادمًا، و عن أنس أنّه قال: خدمت رسول الله _صلّى اللّه عليه و آله _عشر سنين، فما قال لي أفَّ قطّ، و لا لشيءٍ صنعته: لم صنعته؟ و لا لشيءٍ تركته: لم تركته ؟؟!.

و في الخبر: أيعجز أحدكم أن يكون كأبي ضمضم؟ قيل: ماذا كان يصنع أبوضمضم؟ قـال: كان إذا^٥ أصبح، قال: أللّهم إنّي اليوم تصدّقت بعرضي على من ظلمني فمن ضربني لا أضربه و

۱. س: + و.

٢. مقتبس من كريمة ٥٤ المائدة.

٣. س: المساكين

٤. راجع: ص ٥١٦.

٥. م: إذا كان.

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۱. س:

٣. س:

من شتمني لا أشتمه و من ظلمني لا أظلمه'.

و قال أميرالمؤمنين _عليهالسّلام _ أنّه سئل رسول اللّه _صلّى اللّه عليه و آله _ عن حسن الخلق، فقال: تعطي من حرمك و تصل من قطعك و تعفو عمّن ظلمك^٢.

و في التنزيل: ﴿إِدْفَعْ بِالَّتي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ فَإِذَا الَّذي بَيْنَكَ وَ بَيْنَهُ عَدَاوَةً كَأَنِه وَلِيُّ حَمِمٌ؟ و لعمري إنّ هذه الخصلة لا يبلغ كنهها و لا يقدر قدرها، تثبت لصاحبها الفضيلة و تزيل عن خصمه وصمة ² الرّذيلة، لا تظهر نفسه و تنقمع نفس خصيمه بقوّة قلبه، و قال النّبيّ: مَن يُخرَم الرّفقَ يحرَم الخير⁶.

و عن عبدالله بن أبي بكرٍ عن رجلٍ من العرب قال: زحمت رسول الله _صلّى الله عليه و آله _يوم حنينٍ و في رجلي نعلً كثيفةً فوطئت بها على رجل رسول الله، فنفحني نفحةً بسوطٍ في يده، و قال: بسم الله أوجعتنى! قال: فبتّ لنفسي لائمًا أقول: أوجعت رسول الله! قال: فبتّ بليلةٍ كما يعلم الله فلمّا أصبحنا إذًا رجلً يقول: أين فلانً؟ قلت: هذا و الله الّذي كمان منّي بالأمس؛ فانطلقت و أنا متخوّفٌ، فقال لى: إنّك وطئت بنعلك على رجلي بالأمس، فأوجعتنى! فنفحتك نفحةً بالسّوط، فهذه ثمانون نعجةً فخذهابها^٦!، و أنشد بعضهم:

> هَـيْنُونَ لَيْنُونَ أَيْسَارُ ذَوُو كَرَمٍ مُسَوَّاسُ مَكْرُمَةٍ أَبْسَادُ أَيْسَارِ لا يَنْطِقُونَ عَنِ آلفَخْشَاءَ إِنْ نَطَقُوا وَ لا يُـمارُونَ إِنْ مَارَوْا بِإِكْتَارِ

و الغلظة هي: استعمال قوّة القهر لفرط الحميّة، قـال الله ـ تـ عالى ـ : ﴿وَلْـ يَجِدُوا فَـ يَكُمْ غِلْظَةً ﴾.

وكذا الشدّة؛ قال الله - تعالى - في وصف المؤمنين: ﴿ أَشِدّاءُ عَلَى الْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَّاءُ بَينَهُمْ ﴾. والعزّة نوعان:

أحدهما: ترفّع النّفس عن أن تذلّ لعدةٍ أو لئيمٍ أو عظيمٍ في الدّنيا، فيلزم الضعة. قـال اللّـه

- ۱. راجع: ص ٥١٦.
 ۲. راجع: ص ٥١٦.
 ٩. راجع: ص ٥١٧.
 ٩. راجع: ص ٥١٧.
 ٩. منجع: ص ٥١٧.
- ٣. كرية ٣٤ فصّلت.
 ٦. راجع: ص ٥١٧.
 ٨. مقتبسٌ من كرية ٢٩ الفتح.

ـ تعالى ـ في وصف المحبوبين: ﴿أَذِلَّةٍ عَلَىَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَعِزَّةٍ عَلَىَ الْكَافِرِينَ ﴾. قيل للحسن: ما أعظمك في نفسك؟ قال: لست بعظيم، و لكنّي عزيزُ ً إ. و أمّا ً قوله ـ تعالى ـ: ﴿و لِلّهِ الْعِزَّةُ وَ لِرَسُولِه و لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ولٰكِنَّ الْنُنَافِقِينَ لَا يعْلَمُونَ ٤.

و النّوع الثّانى: هو معرفة الإنسان قدر نفسه وشرفها و إكرامه إيّاها عن أن يضعها لأقسام عاجلةٍ دنيويَّةٍ و يذلّها لمطمع في مطعم أو مشربٍ أو غير ذلك من الأمور الخسيسة، قال اللّه _تعالى _: ﴿وَلِلّهِ الْعِزَّةُ وَلِرَسُولِه و لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ﴾، و قال الشّاعر:

> وَ أَعْرِضُ عَنْ مَطَاعِمٍ قَدْ أَرَاهًا فَ اتْرُكَها و في بَطْنِي انْطِواءُ و قال آخر:

وَ إِنِّي لَعَفُّ عَنْ مطاعِمَ جَمَّةٍ إِذَا زَيَّنَ الْفَحْشَاء لِلنَّاسِ جُوعِهْا

و منها الغيرة؛ و هي: الإستنكاف عمّا يوجب العار و يقدّم الأغيار، و منشأها شعور النّفس بشرفها و صفاء جوهرها و كرامتها لتجرّدها عن دنس الطّبائع و قذر الموادّ و قربها من الحضرة الإلهيّة و مناسبتها للوحدة الحقيقيّة، قال النّبي _عليه السّلام _: سعدٌ غيورٌ و أنا أغير من سعدٍ و اللّه أُغير منّي⁰.

و منها التّجمل؛ و هو: اظهار الغنى و الرّخاء و إسرار الشدّة و البلاء، و ذلك نتيجة عزّة النّفس و ثمره مقام الشّكر و علامة الوثوق و الإستغناء باللّه، فأنّ إظهار الفاقة شكايةً و ذلّةً و عجزً و ضعفٌ. قال اللّه _ تعالى _: ﴿وَ أَمَّا بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ فَحَدِّثَ^{*} ﴾. و قال أميرالمؤمنين _عليه السّلام _: رضي بالذّل من كشف ضرّه ^٧.

و من سننهم الضّيافة و القرى؛ و ذلك أنّ الفتوّة ظاهر الولاية و مبدأها، و الولاية باطن الفتوّة و منتهاها، و صاحب الولاية يرى الكلّ بنظر الوحدة أعضائه و جوارحه و يفيض الخير و الكمال عليهم بمقتضي الجود و الرّحمة التّامّة. فيجب أن يكون صاحب الفتوّة يراهم _بنظر المحبّة _ إخوانه و أقاربه و يؤثرهم بالنّفع و الرّاحة بمقتضي الاخوّة و الشّفقة العامّة، ليطابق الظّاهر الباطن

۸. مقتبس من كريمة ٥٤ المائدة.
 ۳. كذا. و الظّاهر: وقرأ

٥. راجع: ص ٥١٧.

٤. مقتبسٌ من كريمة ٨ المنافقون.

٢. راجع: ص ٥١٥.

٧. راجع: ص ٥١٥.

٦. كرعة ١١ والضّحي.

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ويوافق المبدأ المنتهى، وتتناسب الصّورة المعنى، فيتحمّل المشقّة في إراحة الأصحاب ويهين نفسه في إكرام الأضياف ويؤثرهم بقوته عند فاقته، و لا يطّلعهم على فقده و حاجته. روى أنّه جاء رجلً إلى رسول الله _صلّى الله عليه و آله _في يومٍ ذي مسقبةٍ، فقال: يا رسول الله إنّي جائعٌ، فأطعمنى!

فبعث النّبي _ صلّى الله عليه و آله _ إلى أزواجه: هل عند كنّ شيءً؟ فكلّهنّ قلن: و الّذي بعثك بالحقّ نبيًّا ما عندنا إلّا الماء.

فقال _عليدالسّلام _: مَن يضيف هذا هذه اللّيلة رحمد الله !؟

فقام رجلٌ من الأنصار، فقال: أنا يا رسول الله! فقالت : ما عندنا إلّا قوت الصبية! فـقال: قومي و علّليهم عن قوتهم حتّى يناموا و لا يطعموا شيئًا ثمّ أسرجي فإذا أخذ الضّيف ليأكل قومي كأنّك تصلحين السّراج فأطفيه وتعالى نمضغ ألسنتنا لضيف رسول الله _ صلّى الله عليه و آله _ حتّى يشبع!

فقامت إلى الصبية فعلَّلتهم حتَّى ناموا عن قوتهم ثمَّ قامت و ثرَّدت و أسرحت، فـلمَّا أخـذ الضيف ليأكل قامت كأنَّها تصلح السراح فأطفأته فجعلا يمضغان ألسنتهما و ظنَّ الضيف أنَّهما يأكلان معه حتَّى شبع و باتا طاويين!.

فلممّا أصبحوا غدوا إلى رسول اللّه _صلّى اللّه عليه و آله _، فلمّا نظر إليهما تبسّم و قال: لقد عجب اللّه من فلانٍ و فلانةٍ هذه اللّيلة ^٢ا. فأنزل^٣ اللّه _ تعالى _: ﴿وَ يُؤْثِرونَ عَلَىٰ أَنْفُسِمٍمْ وَ لَوْ كان بهمْ خَصاصَةً ٤﴾.

و روى أنّه اجتمع عند أبي الحسن^٥ الأنطاكيّ نيّفٌ و ثلاثون رجلاً و له أرغفةً معدودةً لا يشبع خمسةً منهم، فكسروا الرّغفان و أطفأوا السّراج و جلسوا للطّعام فإذا رفعوا الطعام إذاً هو بحاله لم يأكل أحدً ايثاراًمنه على نفسه^٦.

١. ههنا سقط في النسخة، و لتوحد هالايمكنني تصحيح العبارة، فراجع: نفس الجلد، الصّفحة الاخيرة في ترجمة تحفة الاخوان

٣. م: وانزل.

٥. م: إبي الحق الحسن.

باللغة الفارسية. ٤. مقتبسٌ من كرية ٩ الحشر.

٦. راجع: ص ٥١٩.

و حكاياتهم في هذا الباب تأبي الحصر وتنافي وضع هذا المختصر؛ من أرادها فليتتبّع الآثار و الأخبار وليطالع الكتب و الأسفار، فإنّ فيها عجائب و الرّوايات عنهم تسفر ' عن غرائب. و من لم يغنه الكليّ، لم يغنه الجزئيّ و من لم ينتفع بالتّعريض لم ينفعه التّصريح و في الجمل ما يغني عن التفصيل. ـو اللّه الهادي إلى سواء السّبيل ' و صلّى اللّه على محمّدٍ إلى يوم الفصيل ⁷ا ـ.

لي المشاركة المساركة المشاركة المستركة المستركة والمستركة والمستركة والمستركة والمستركة والمستركة والمستركة ال

والمان المراجعية والمحدود كالمحا فالشائد والهما وملتهم لوالا تتعاق الأراد والكا

س: تشعر.
 ۲. م: والله على عباده الهادي.

٣. في محتم النسخة: تمّت الرّسالة الشّريفة الموسومة بتحفة الإخوان في خصائص الفتيان من مصنفات الشّيخ الكامل العالم العارف الفاضل المحكل الموحد المدفّق الحقّق مقدّم الطّائفة الصّوفيّة مقتدي الملّة الحمديّة وارث الفتوّة و الولاية قدوة أهل الهداية والنّهاية بقيّة السّلف نقاوة الخلف قطب العارفين بالإتفاق الشيخ بهاءالدّين عبدالرّزاق الكاشي _ قدّس الله سرّه العزيز _. تمّ.